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*RENEWAL.**

WHEN a sinner believes in Christ as He is offered in the Gospel, his sins are forgiven; he is justified, or set right with God. He gets an assurance of God's love that is deeper than sin, and extends to his whole life, past, present and to come. Now justification is not a dead or inert thing; it is regenerative: there is a power of God in it which has the promise of a new life, and it is the gradual manifestation and assertion of this new life which is meant by Renewal. In justification, it may be said, man is born again; but the new creature, the spiritual child, has to come through all sorts of experiences to mature manhood. Renewal is the sum of all these experiences if they keep the distinctively Christian character. The principal truths connected with it will become apparent if we consider the following points:—(1) The power by which it is carried on; (2) The standard and rule according to which it ought to proceed; (3) The process itself, as it goes on in experience; and (4) The degrees to which it can be carried under the conditions of this life.

(1) *The power* by which it is carried on is that of *the Spirit of God*. The renewing of our life, or of our nature, is wrought by the Holy Ghost (Titus 3[5]). God does not put us right with Himself, and then leave us; even when we are called to work out our own salvation, we are reminded that it is God who to further His own good pleasure works in us both will and deed. This is not a speculative theorem, but the surest fact of experience. Any one who has tried knows that it is impossible to be good without God,

* No. IX. of a series of papers in which will be clearly and concisely set forth those great truths of the Christian revelation on which experience has shown that Indian readers require the clearest explanation. Most of the papers in the series will, it is hoped, be written by well-known theologians of the West.—EDITOR.

a Christian without Christ, holy without the Holy Spirit. Hence in the renewal of our nature, though nothing can be done unless we have a full sense of our own responsibility for what we are, nothing can be done either unless we have a full sense of our dependence upon God. God made the first man, and it is God who must make the second. No doubt we have a duty in the matter, a duty which in the New Testament is often expressed in the most peremptory terms. 'Be not conformed to this world, but transformed by the renewing of your mind' (Romans 12^2). 'Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man' (Ephesians 4^{23} f.). But though this is so, the task is one in the achievement of which no man can do anything unless God is with him. Hence prayer, in which our dependence on God finds spontaneous expression, is the very breath of life to the new man. The Epistles of the New Testament, in which we see the life of souls undergoing the process of renewal, are interwoven, in warp and woof, with prayer. A man like St. Paul lived and moved and had his being in prayer. It was that which brought unceasingly into his life the divine power by which he was renewed day by day.

(2) *The standard* or rule according to which the renewal takes place may be variously expressed. (*a*) It may be said to be *the Law* or rather *the Will of God.* The old man was ruled by his own will, and his will was in bondage to natural and unnatural impulses, to passions and lusts, of which he was ashamed. Now our life is renewed in proportion as a higher will comes into it, that will of God which we discover by experiment to be good and acceptable and perfect (Romans 12^2). The will of God means the Law of God in its application to particular persons and situations, and it is often impossible, apart from experiment, to be quite sure of what it is. But a single eye is wonderfully sure, and a good man's footsteps are ordered by the Lord. The great thing is to eliminate self-will. The chief difference between Jesus and us, it has been said, is that we are much more independent than He. He thought of his whole life as obedience; in all its action and suffering there was nothing that did not express the will of the Father; but how little of our life could be described in this way. Yet a renewed life is one every part of which could be put under the heading of the will of God.

(*b*) Another way in which the standard of renewal is expressed is *the image of God.* The new man is created 'after God,' St. Paul

tells us in Ephesians 4[24], 'in righteousness and holiness of truth.' 'Put on the new man,' he writes to the Colossians (3[10]), 'which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.' To make this the standard implies, of course, that we know what the image of God is. Even in ancient times those who read in the first chapter of Genesis how God created man in His own image must have been able to attach some meaning to the words, and the New Testament enables us to define them further. The image of God, as we see from the passage just quoted from Ephesians, includes righteousness and holiness of truth. But it is not only in such abstract expressions that it is made visible to us; it is expressly identified with Christ. St. Paul calls Him 'the image of the invisible God' (Colossians 1[15], 2 Corinthians 4[4]), and it is on Him our eyes must be fixed if the renewal of our nature is to proceed according to the true pattern. Renewal is achieved, so far as our part in it is concerned, by the imitation of Jesus. If He falls out of view, we have lost both the standard and the inspiration for the new life. Hence the most important thing in the world for those who are interested practically in renewal is to have Jesus continually before their eyes. It is this only which keeps us from following wrong paths, and giving our devotion to false ideals. We cannot have the gospels too much in our hands, nor that Second Man, who is the Lord from heaven, too constantly present to our thoughts. The history of Christianity itself abounds with instances of moral perversion, with attempts to set up a standard for the new life which could only have occurred to persons who had lost touch entirely with the life of Jesus. Only we must remember that the life of Jesus is not a law for us in the sense in which an Act of Parliament is law. It is a life through which the will of God can be discovered, but it has to be spiritually discovered and spiritually applied; the imitation of Jesus by which our nature is renewed is one which leaves our moral responsibility and our freedom intact, or rather which makes them for the first time real.

(*c*) The standard of renewal may also be expressed by saying that the life is now regulated at every step by *love*. The faith in which the new life is initiated is faith which works by love (Galatians 5[6]); love, too, is the fulfilling of the law (Romans 13[10]); and the whole key to that life of Christ which has just been spoken is that He loved us and gave himself for us. Hence to walk in love, and to grow up in all things into Christ, are the same thing;

and they are but different expressions for the progressive change in human nature which is described by the term renewal.

(3) *The process* of renewal, as it is exhibited in the New Testament and known in experience, is *two-fold*—at least it can be looked at in two directions. It is renewal *from* something and renewal *to* something. It has a negative and a positive side. There is something to overcome, as well as something to assume.

The negative side is variously expressed in Scripture. It is spoken of as dying to sin, crucifying the flesh with its passions and lusts, putting to death our members that are on the earth, putting off the old man which waxes corrupt after the lusts of deceit, and so on. Similarly the positive side is described as living to God, walking in or by the Spirit, putting on the new man, putting on the Lord Jesus Christ. The two things, it is easy to see, are not really two; they are in experience one and the same. Perhaps it is a practical mistake that we sometimes think of them as if they were separate, and try to put off the old man by some other process than that of putting on the new—or, as is apt to happen in this case, try to get rid of our old and evil nature without being indebted to Christ and His Spirit for that which is to supplant it. But when Christ disappears, as has been said already, we lose the inspiration without which we can do nothing; and when Christ is there, it is His entrance into our life and nothing else by which the old nature and its vices are overcome. Nevertheless, great emphasis is laid in the New Testament on the negative side, the mortification of the old man. There is no such thing favoured by Christ and the apostles as a quickest doctrine of sanctification— the idea that creatures such as we are and have been can by a mere process of waiting and dependence, without effort, without conflict, without pain, become spiritually new. The process is one in which every exertion is called for; it demands of us continually to do violence to ourselves, to repress the first impulses of nature, to kill the flesh with its tendencies to self-indulgence and self-will. Not that the apostles make a moan over this. The joy of reconciliation and of renewal is too great; the sense of what Christ has done for them and is enabling them to do is too over-powering. But the old man, so to speak, dies hard; and there is something relentless and inexorable to be learned and experienced by everyone as he puts off the old and in Christ Jesus puts on the new.

(4) The last point—*the extent* to which the process of

renewal can be carried in this life—is one on which there has been much discussion under the heading of 'Christian Perfection.' One thing may be said about it without question. Whatever hope, or whatever duty, is set before Christians here is set before all alike. There is not a perfect life designed for some, and life at an inferior level for others. It is not some but all of us who are called to be saints. 'Put on the Lord Jesus Christ'; 'Be perfect therefore as your Father in heaven is perfect': these are rules of life given to every Christian. Again, it may be said without question that the whole tendency of the New Testament is to bid us hope for great things and realize that God has put great responsibilities upon us. Let us be as convinced as we will that there is evil with us all the time, and that only self-deception could blind us to the fact, but do not let us make that the measure of the will, the promises, or the power of God. One would think, to hear the manner in which those who plead for perfection or a higher life are sometimes criticised, that the glory of God was particularly involved in maintaining that grace must always be inferior to sin, and the new man never quite able to supplant the old. Even if this is the fact, it is only a fact; it is not part of our faith. It is a fact which it is not for faith to reconcile itself to, but to overcome. Nothing is more to be desired than sympathy with the hope of Christian perfection, and nothing is more detrimental to such sympathy, and therefore to earnest Christian aspiration and effort, than to be always carping at the doctrine of perfection. Surely such great causes as the Atonement and the gift of the Holy Spirit were meant to produce great effects. Surely there is a humbling disproportion between what they are and what they have accomplished in us which should rather make us eager to be more faithful in the use of the resources which God has put at our disposal than to sneer at those whose hopes are higher than our own. And one thing more may be said in this connexion: no question about the degree to which the renewal of our nature can be carried in this life is capable of any but a practical answer. If we wish to know what can be done we can only know by making the experiment. We have at least this certainty, that God will not fail us. In the death of His Son He has given us a pledge of His love which covers everything, and in the gift of His Spirit He has put us in contact with the exceeding greatness of His power. We are not straitened in Him; if we are feeble, sinful, in bondage

to the old nature still, it is because we do not know, or believe, or make our own, the things that are freely given to us by God.

The process of renewal, one ought to add in conclusion, does not terminate with this life. 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.' The same truth is expressed by St. Paul when he says, in contrasting the first and the second Adam, 'As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.' The life of Christ by participation in which we are renewed is that in which He lives in glory at God's right hand. And it is no small part of our motive to self-renewal, to the putting off of the old man and the putting on of the new, that nothing less than the immortality of glory is involved in it. As St. John puts it in his first Epistle (3^3): 'Every one that hath this hope set on Him purifieth himself even as He is pure.'

JAMES DENNEY.

THE JALAKANTHÉSVARA TEMPLE AT VELLORE.[1]

EVERY student of Indian history is familiar with the important part played in the Carnatic Wars by Vellore (popularly known as Vêlûr or Râyavêlûr[2]) which is now the most populous town in the North Arcot District, and the *District Manual* furnishes sufficient details about this portion of the history of the town. In earlier times too, it appears to have been no insignificant place. Its position on the southern bank of the river Pâlâr and close to a range of hills must have afforded peculiar facilities for an agricultural settlement. As regards the ancient history of Vellore,[3] it must have shared the fortunes of the surrounding

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[1] I contributed an article on this subject to the *Madras Mail* two years ago. The conclusions then put forth are not altered in this paper. But a considerable amount of historical information bearing on the subject had then to be kept back in order to make the article as short as possible, and is now introduced.

[2] As remarked in the *District Manual of North Arcot,* the prefix *Râya* distinguishes our Vêlûr from Ellore in the Godavari District which is called Uppuvêlûr.

[3] The etymology of the word *Vêlûr* does not call for any remarks here as it is of no historical importance and as it is already found in the *District Manual of North Arcot* (Vol. II., p. 417). The 'Vêlûr' mentioned in the Tamil poem *Sirupânârruppadai* as one of the towns of a local chief named Nalliyakkôdan is probably different from the place where the Sepoy Mutiny took place in A. D. 1806. The modern representative of the former is perhaps 'Vêlûr,' a village in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District. Eyil, another town in the

country, which we propose to take up on some convenient future occasion. It is now enough to remark that the place bore the name Vêlûr in ancient times as well, and was also called Paramêsvaramangalam,[1] apparently after one of the two Pallava kings named Paramêsvaravarman. This would show that the town existed in some form or other already at the beginning at least of the eighth century A. D.

At present we will confine our attention to the Siva temple within the fort. This is now known as Jalakanthêsvara, *i.e.*, 'Siva with water up to the neck' and has been frequently admired for its sculptures. Of the *Kalyâna-mandapa* or 'hall in which the idol was placed when his marriage was yearly celebrated,' the *District Manual* remarks that it 'contains monolithic sculptures of marvellous beauty.'[2] In the absence of reliable history we have to depend upon ancient architecture and the sculptures, which temples and other similar monuments contain, to get some idea of the æsthetic notions entertained by ancient Hindus. As the sculptures of the Vellore temple have elicited the admiration of European visitors as well, there is reason to suppose that the artists who worked at them were men imbued with notions of beauty based on a true theory of art. Such being the stage of advancement evidenced by the sculptures in the Vellore temple, we are naturally anxious to ascertain the time when that stage was reached. In other words, the time when the temple was built becomes a question of absorbing interest to the student of Indian art and of Indian history.

Certain portions of the Mârgasahâyêsvara temple at Viriñchipuram resemble the Vellore temple so closely that it has been supposed that the artist who built the former was the son of the sculptor who worked at the latter.[3] The *mandapa* in front of the Vitthala temple at Vijayanagara resembles the *Âgnêya-mandapa* at Vellore.[4] At a place called Diggu Hablum (Diguva

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dominions of the same chief, is identical with the modern 'Eyil,' 24 miles west-north-west of Tindivanam. The Anglo-Indian pronunciation of 'Vellore' may lead us to mistake it for Vellûra mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Brihatsamhitâ*. This, however, is identical with Ellora in the Nizam's Dominions famous for its cave-temples (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII., p. 193).

[1] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., p. 130, No. 110.

[2] See also Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 164.

[3] See ibid., p. 165 and the *District Manual of North Arcot*, Vol. II., p. 426.

[4] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 165.

Ahôbilam) in the Kurnool District there is a large unfinished *mandapa* in plan and design like that of the Vitthala temple. According to Mr. Fergusson this temple was built by Achyutarâya in A.D. 1529—42[1] and the *mandapa* at Diguva Ahôbilam could not have been built before A.D. 1565.[2] The time when the Viriñchipuram temple was built is unknown[3] and as to the date when the Vellore temple came into existence, there is, unfortunately, no unanimity of opinion. Mr. Fergusson refers to some tradition according to which the temple was built in A.D. 1350, and remarks that this date is not far from the truth.[4] Even the most experienced architect cannot precisely fix the date of any ancient building but can only assign it to an approximate period. The *Manual of the North Arcot District* refers to an inscription[5] which would support Mr. Fergusson's view if its date has been correctly read. The inscription is at Malayampattu in the Gudiyatam tâluk. It is dated in Saka 1320 (= 1398 A.D.) and mentions Lingama Naidu, the son of Bommi Naidu who, according to tradition, founded the temple. In the first place, it is not impossible that this record is identical with the Malayapattu inscription, which, according to Dr. Hultzsch[6], is dated in Saka-Samvat 15[2]4, during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Venkata I., and records a gift by Nângama Náyaka (Lingama Náyaka[7]?), son of Bommu Náyaka. Even if the two records are not identical, the approximate date for Bommi Naidu, which the latter yields and which will be confirmed in the sequel, shows that the date of the inscription mentioned in the *District Manual* has been misread.

Another tradition assigns A.D. 1274 for the foundation of the temple, while a third account states that Bommi Naidu built the temple about the year A.D. 1485.[8] In a booklet entitled

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1 *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 374.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 378.

3 One of the stones built into the courtyard of this temple contains an inscription dated in Saka-Samvat 1471 (= A.D. 1549) which records that the pavement was laid by Bommu-Náyaka of Vêlûr (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., p. 84). As remarked by Dr. Hultzsch, this evidently refers to the traditional founder of the Vellore temple and fort. There are also some earlier inscriptions in the Virinchipuram temple, but none of them gives any clue as to the date of its construction.

4 *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 370.

5 Vol. II., p. 419, footnote 10.

6 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., p. 137f.

7 This date of Lingama Náyaka is confirmed by the Vilâpâka grant; see page 189 below.

8 See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 164.

'Velapuri or A peep into the past of Vellore' an attempt is made by Mr. T. S. Kumaraswami Aiyar, B.A., of the local Arcot Mission College, to establish the traditional date A.D. 1278 for the foundation of the temple on the strength of a palm-leaf manuscript.[1]

It is doubtful if this *cadjan* is a fresh discovery, or if it is only a copy of one of the manuscripts used by previous writers on the history of Vellore. For our present purpose it does not matter much which of these two alternatives is true. The story of the *cadjan* is in the main identical with the account given in the *District Manual of North Arcot*, which I extract here for the benefit of those who may not be familiar with the legend[2] :—"Bommi

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[1] The latest contribution on the Vellore temple is by Mr. S. M. Natesa Sastri, who, in the *Madras Mail* of 18th August, remarks that "a careful examination of inscriptions published under the authority of the Government of India leaves no doubt as to the approximate, if not the exact, date of the temple. From these epigraphical records it becomes evident that Bommi Náyaka or Sinna Bommi Náyaka was never the founder of the temple, though he endowed the temple on a very large scale. He must have found a Chôla temple already in existence and must have enlarged it. Almost all the temples in the North Arcot District are of Chôla architecture. The Chôlas were the great builders of temples, and this temple must, I think, also have been a Chôla building." If the inscriptions leave no doubt as to the approximate date of the temple, what is the meaning of saying that it "must have been" a Chôla building? As will be shown later on in this paper, it may be presumed from the inscriptions that the temple came into existence during the time of Bommu Náyaka of Vêlûr, though he does not explicitly claim to have built it. This is at least some definite result. To say that it "must have been" a Chôla building because *almost all* the temples in the North Arcot District are of Chôla architecture and because the Chôlas were the great temple builders throws no light whatever on the date of the temple. The Chôlas flourished from the third century B.C. down to a very late period. There was a king in the fifteenth century A.D. who laid claim to Chôla ancestry (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 72). The Chôla king Sengannân, who lived prior to the seventh century A.D., claims to have built several temples, and it is evident from Tamil literature that temples existed in the Tamil country even before his time. From inscriptions we know that later kings of the Chôla family also built a large number of temples. If all that can be said about the date of the Vellore temple is that it must have been a Chôla building, the period of its construction would lie between the third century B.C. and the fifteenth century A.D.! Of course I am no architect. But Mr. Fergusson does not seem to have found anything Chôla in the architecture of the Vellore temple, and Mr. Rea, the Archæological Surveyor, is apparently disposed to assign the temple to "the fifteenth century *et seq.*" Consequently I cannot see anything in the statement that the Vellore temple 'must have been a Chôla building' but an attempt to make the date of the temple more uncertain than it actually is.

[2] This legend is also published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II., pp. 172--175. The details of this version of the story agree with the *cadjan*.

Naidu (or Reddi) and Timmi Naidu were the sons of one Yadama Naidu of Bhadrachalam[1] on the banks of the Kistna and left their native town in order to escape from their half-brothers, who had plotted to murder them and take their property. They were journeying to Rameswaram and other places when they halted one day at Velappadi,[2] and, pleased with the neighbourhood, applied to Raja Karikala Chôla, who lived in a large town called Kailasa-patnam[3], 5 miles south of Vellore for permission to settle there. This was granted and the brothers betook themselves to the breeding of cattle and got very wealthy. At last a petty chief who held Arni attacked them, but was utterly defeated, which so pleased the raja that he gave Bommi Reddi many presents and privileges. . . . . Bommi Reddi had a cow with five teats, which, he once discovered, used to suckle a five-headed cobra, that lived in an anthill in *the middle of a pool of water* (note this phrase which is afterwards used in the name of the temple). The reptile was Siva, who communicated to the Reddi the position of some hidden treasure and directed him to use it in building a temple. The treasure was found as well as a *lingam* and the temple was begun on the 19th of Panguni in Sukla year, S.S. 1195. . . . . The outline of the walls was shown by a prodigy; a hare chased the Reddi's dogs around the anthill, and Siva cried out from the sky that the line traced by the course then run should be followed by the builders. Within exactly nine years the temple was completed and dedicated to Jalakantêswara, or

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[1] If this is the well-known Bhadrachalam, it is situated *not* on the banks of the Kistna but on the banks of the Godavari. According to the version published in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. II., p. 173) the two brothers were natives of "the sacred city of Palavansa on the banks of the Krishna river." In the Vîrabhadra temple at Yenamadala in the Kistna District is a trilingual inscription dated in Saka-Samvat 1453, which mentions a certain Chinna-Bommu-Nâyaka (Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report* for 1892-93, p. 15, No. 119 of 1893). If this person is identical with the reputed founder of the Vellore temple, the story of his flight from his native place would receive some confirmation.

[2] This name is now given to a suburb of Vellore.

[3] This was probably near the Kailasgarh hill, at the base of which there undoubtedly was an ancient town, which is represented by the modern Sôlapuram. In his *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Vol. I., pp. 78 and 128) Dr. Hultzsch has published an incomplete Ganga-Pallava inscription and four fragments from Sôlapuram. Of the latter, one belongs to the time of the Chôla king Râjarâja I. (A.D. 985 to 1013), another to that of Kulôttunga and a third mentions the temple of Râjêndra-Chôlêsvara at Sôlapuram. The identification of Kailasapatnam with Sôlapuram has also been made by Mr. T. S. Kumaraswami Aiyar in his booklet on '*Velapuri* or A peep into the past of Vellore.'

'Siva residing in the water.'" The fort was also begun at an auspicious *lagnam* and built of stone brought from Pallikonda, 13 miles distant. When all had been finished, "Siva in a dream ordered Bommi Reddi to hand the fortress over to Venkatadeva Maharayalu of Denkanikota." This was done in Saka 1216 (= A.D. 1295) and the place was in consequence called Râyavêlûr.

The *cadjan* gives Saka 1190 [1] as the date of the commencement of the temple and furnishes a slightly different account of the circumstances which led to the fort being made over to Venkatadêvarâya, who, it has to be noted, was *not* at Denkanikota, as stated in the *District Manual*, but was the son of Praudhadêvarâya reigning at Penugonda. After completing the fortress, Bommi Naidu, having been only a peasant and not a ruler, felt himself unworthy of royal dignity and wished to make over the fortress to some king. The god Siva, accordingly, directed him to go to Praudhadêvarâya and his son Venkatadêvarâya. The latter had three brothers, *viz.*, Achyutadêvarâya, Râmadêva Mahârâya and Vâsudêva Mahârâya. Of the four brothers, it was Venkatadêvarâya that got Vellore and he was duly installed as king by Bommi Naidu.[2]

All the accounts that are known are at one as regards the name of the person who built the temple, *viz.*, Bommi Naidu (or Reddi).[3] It is about his time that there is difference of opinion. Both the *cadjan* and the account given in the *District Manual* agree as regards the circumstances which furnished the name of the temple. They attempt to explain the modern name of the temple, Jalakanthêsvara, *i.e.*, 'Siva with water up to the neck,' while its ancient name, as will be seen in the sequel, was Jvarakhandêsvara, *i.e.*, 'Siva, the destroyer of fever.'[4] This fact militates against the antiquity of the tradition embodied in them, and shows that these accounts came into existence after the original name of the temple was forgotten and the modern one had taken its place. Any historical information which they profess to fur-

[1] The same date is given in the account published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II., pp. 172-175.

[2] The *cadjan* and the version given in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. II., p. 174) agree in stating that Venkatadêvarâya acquired Vellore as a result of the distribution of territory among the four sons of Praudhadêvarâya.

[3] It is worthy of note that statues of Bommi Naidu and his brother are set up at the sides of the temple gate. They are also found inside the temple in various attitudes; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II., p. 173.

[4] See page 186 below.

nish has, therefore, to be accepted with great caution. Again, it is inexplicable why Bommi Naidu should have gone to Venkatadêvarâya of Denkanikota or to Praudhadêvarâya of Penugonda to make over the fortress of Vellore, while his own patron Karikâla-Chôla was ruling at Kailasapatnam, 5 miles from Vellore. Even supposing that Bommi Naidu was ungrateful to his patron, it is not easy to understand how Venkatadêvarâya was, without any hitch whatever, installed in Vellore, which was situated in the dominions of Karikâla-Chôla. One of two conclusions is inevitable. Perhaps Karikâla-Chôla was *only a private individual* like Bommi Naidu and no king at all. Or, both the accounts have introduced Karikâla-Chôla as a sufficiently ancient king to justify the fictitious date assigned *for the foundation* of the temple. In either case, Karikâla-Chôla need not be taken into account in fixing the date of the Vellore temple.

According to the *District Manual* Venkatadêva Mahârâyalu, to whom Bommi Naidu made over the fort, was at Denkanikota. This is evidently identical with the village of the same name in the Salem District. If this is the case, Venkatadêva Mahârâyalu could have been no king at all, but only a petty chief and, as such, not likely to be brought in by Bommi Naidu, who was looking for a king. We may, therefore, follow the *cadjan* and believe it was to Penugonda that Bommi Naidu went. But the Praudhadêvarâya, who was reigning at Penugonda in Saka 1190, owes his existence to the utter ignorance of the writer of the *cadjan*. The name Praudhadêvarâya was, so far as is known at present, borne only by Dêvarâya II. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, whose dates range from Saka-Samvat 1346 to 1371[1] (=A.D. 1424 to 1449) and who could not possibly have lived in Saka-Samvat 1190. Again, Dêvarâya II. never reigned at Penugonda,[2] nor is he known to have had four sons. He had only two sons, *viz.*, Mallikârjuna

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 36. At Bârakûr in the South Canara District there are two inscriptions dated in Saka-Samvat 1380 and 1393, respectively (Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, Appendix, Nos. 144 and 158 of 1901). In the first the king is called Vîrapratâpa—Immadi-Dêvarâya, whom Dr. Hultzsch identifies with Dêvarâya II In the second inscription the name of the king is Vîrapratâpa-Praudhadêvarâya. In his *Forgotten Empire*, p. 97, Mr. Sewell refers to a copper-plate grant dated in Saka-Samvat 1398 during the reign of "Praudhadêva Raya of Vijayanagar." As these dates overlap on those of the sons of Dêvarâya II., we may have to assume that there was a third Dêvarâya, or that Praudhadêvarâya was a surname of one of the sons of Dêvarâya II.

[2] Penugonda must have been situated in his dominions though it was not his capital and though no inscription of his has been found at the place.

and Virûpâksha. Such being the nature of the historical information furnished by these traditional accounts, any date for the foundation of the Vellore temple based on them cannot possibly be trusted.

I may now be asked if the traditional accounts contain *any* historical information at all. At the time when they were written there were probably some faint reminiscences that the king to whom Bommi Naidu had applied was reigning at Penugonda and that he had four sons. The names of the king and his four sons had been forgotten and were supplied by those who knew nothing about the history of Southern India. On no other supposition can these appalling historical incongruities be explained. It was during the time of Tirumala I. of the third Vijayanagara dynasty that the seat of government was removed from Vijayanagara to Penugonda,[1] and, curiously enough, he had four sons, of whom

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[1] This transfer is said to have taken place in A.D. 1567 (Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II., p. 252 and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 238 f.). Ranga II., the successor of Tirumala I., is actually called king of Penugonda in the Kûniyûr plates of Venkata II., and in an inscription dated Saka-Samvat 1498 (Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV., Yd. 59) he is stated to be "seated on a jewelled throne at Penugonda." In the Dêvanahalli plates of A.D. 1584 (Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 255) the same king is reported to have made the grant "on the banks of the Pinâkinî, in the presence of the god Srî Râma," apparently in the Râmasvâmin temple at Penugonda. The fact that this inscription ends with the name *Srî Virûpâksha* of the god of the Pampâpati temple at Vijayanagara shows that the latter was not altogether forgotten at the time. It is Venkata I., the youngest son of Tirumala, that is credited with the removal from Penugonda to Chandragiri (Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II., pp. 251 and 252) though the strength of the fortifications of Chandragiri appears to have been recognized already during the time of Krishnarâya, who imprisoned his nephew and his three brothers there for his own greater security (see Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 123). Accordingly, the Vilâpâka grant of Venkata I. dated in Saka-Samvat 1523=A.D. 1601-2 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV., p. 276, verse 42), the grant recorded in the Madras Museum plates of the same king dated in Saka-Samvat 1526 (=A.D. 1604) (Dr. Hultzsch's Progress Report in G. O. No. 717, Public, dated 28th October 1890, p. 3, No. IX.), the Kûniyûr grant of Venkata II. dated in Saka-Samvat 1556=A.D. 1634 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 245, verse 39), the Kondyâta grant of the same king dated in Saka-Samvat 1558=A.D. 1636 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII., p. 131, verse 49) and the Kallakursi grant of Ranga VI. dated in Saka-Samvat 1566=A.D. 1644-45 (*ibid.*, p. 159, verse 42) purport to have been made in the presence of the god Srî-Venkatêsa of the temple at Tirupati near Chandragiri. But in two inscriptions dated in Saka-Samvat 1509 and 1536 respectively (Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VI., Cm. 79 and Vol. III., Sr. 157) Venkata I. is stated to have resided at Vijayanagara, while, according to the Kondyata grant (v. 35), Venkata II. was anointed to rule the "kingdom of Penugonda." Perhaps the importance of Vijayanagara and Penugonda was not

Venkata was one. If the incongruous mistakes pointed out above arose in the way I have explained, it may be concluded that Bommi Naidu, the founder of the temple and fort of Vellore, was a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Tirumala I. and of his son Venkata I.

Having got thus far, we will now see if this conclusion is warranted by other evidence of an unimpeachable character. In the Jalakanthêsvara temple itself there are no inscriptions which can throw any light on its date. On a stone set up inside the inner gopura of the temple there is an unpublished fragment of a Chôla inscription.[1] It contains the first portion of the historical introduction of the Chôla king Râjâdhirâja who ascended the throne in A. D. 1018.[2] The fact that it is only a fragment shows that the stone on which it is engraved must have been removed thither from some Chôla building in the neighbourhood—perhaps from the temple at Sembâkkam, which, in ancient times, was called Râjêndra-Chôlêsvara.[3] The other inscriptions of the Jalakanthêsvara temple are quite modern and record private donations.[4]

In the vicinity of Vellore, however, there are four inscriptions on stone in four different villages, each recording the gift of the village in which it is found, to the Jvarakhandêsvara temple at Vêlûr on one and the same day of the *Akshaya* year, which was current after the expiry of Saka-Samvat 1488 (A.D. 1566). The grant was made by a certain Sinna Bommu Náyaka of

overlooked though Chandragiri was the capital. The former must have been looked upon as two of the chief towns in the kingdom. At any rate, there is no doubt Chandragiri was the seat of government from the time of Venkata I. If, as Mr. Sewell thinks, the transfer to Chandragiri took place in A.D. 1592 (*Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 150) Venkata I. must have continued at Penugonda some time after his accession. The earliest date we have for him is Saka-Samvat 1507=A. D. 1585 in an inscription at Chidambaram (see Dr. Hultzsch's *Progress Report* in G. O., No. 745, Public, dated 27th July, 1888, p. 5). A faint reminiscence of this removal of the seat of government during the time of Venkata I. might have survived at the time when the traditional accounts of Vellore came to be written and the events that took place at Chandragiri were probably transferred by their composers to Vellore. It is, however, more probable that, as vaguely suggested by the *cadjan*, Venkata was appointed governor of Vellore during his father's life-time, and it is to his installation as governor that the traditional accounts refer when they say that Bommi Naidu brought Venkatadévarâya to rule over Vellore.

1 This inscription is also mentioned by Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 164 f.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI., p. 24.

3 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., p. 130.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 126 to 128.

Vêlûr with the permission of Tirumalaiyadêva Mahârâja during the reign of king Sadâsiva of Vijayanagara.[1] Those who know anything about the history of Southern India in the middle ages will at once recognise the puppet king Sadâsiva[2] and Tirumala, the younger brother of his powerful minister Râmarâja, who fell with his youngest brother Venkatâdri in the memorable battle of Talikota in A.D. 1565.[3] From three other stone inscriptions in three different villages near Vellore we learn that three more villages were simultaneously granted nine years later in the *Yuva* year, which was current after the expiry of Saka-Samvat 1497 (=A. D. 1575) to the same temple by the same donor during the reign of Tirumala's son Ranga II.[4] (Saka-Samvat 1497 to 1506=A. D. 1575 to 1584).[5] It is now necessary to note that in two of the three later records[6] the name of the temple is Jvarakanthêsvara—the intermediate form in the change from the original Jvarakhandêsvara to the modern Jalakanthêsvara. In all seven villages were granted to the temple by Sinna Bommu Nâyaka of Vêlûr for providing "all the worldly enjoyments (*angarangavaibhava*)." In none of these seven inscriptions is it specifically stated that Sinna Bommu Nâyaka was the founder of the temple. That the revenue from all these seven villages was considered necessary to provide the worldly enjoyments, *i.e.*, flowers, incense, offerings, temple servants, processions, &c., shows that none of these wants had been previously provided for. In fact, these were the first endowments made in favour of the temple. Hence the presumption is that it came into existence during the time of Sinna Bommu Nâyaka, the donor. Combine with this presumption (1) the fact to which all the traditions point, *viz.*, that a certain Bommi Naidu was the founder of the temple and (2) the conclusion we were led to draw in attempting to explain the historical incongruities found in the accounts based

[1] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., Nos. 43 to 46.

[2] In his *Forgotten Empire*, p. 212, Mr. Sewell says: "In 1568 (so it is said) Tirumala murdered his sovereign, Sadâsiva, and seized the throne for himself." But at Mûdakêri near Bârukûr in the South Canara District are two inscriptions dated Saka-Samvat 1507 and 1508 respectively (= A. D. 1585 and 1586) during the reign of Vîrapratâpa Sadâsivarâya. (Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, Appendix, Nos. 131 and 140 of 1901). These two inscriptions show that he must have been living in A. D. 1586.

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII., p. 154, note 14.

[4] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., Nos. 47 to 49.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., Table facing p. 238.

[6] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., Nos. 48 and 49.

on tradition, and the identity of Bommi Naïdu to whom tradition ascribes the building of the temple with Sinna Bommu Nâyaka of Vêlûr, who was a subordinate of the Vijayanagara king Tirumala I., and of his son Ranga II., becomes very probable.

According to tradition the temple took nine years to build and, curiously enough, the interval of time between the first and second donations of Sinna Bommu Nâyaka (Saka-Samvat 1488 to 1497) is also nine years. If this coincidence is not due to pure accident, it may be concluded that the first grant of four villages was made soon after the central shrine was completed and the second grant of three villages after the whole temple was built. The third quarter of the sixteenth century may, therefore, be regarded as the approximate date of the temple.

The change from Jvarakhandêsvara, 'Siva, the destroyer of fever' to Jalakanthêsvara, 'Siva with water up to the neck' has now to be considered. It was already pointed out that the intermediate form Jvarakanthêsvara occurs already in two inscriptions of Saka-Samvat 1497 (- A.D. 1575). Since *joram* and *jaram* are popular Dravidian corruptions of the Sanskrit *jvara*, 'fever,' Jvarakanthêsvara would soon have become Jarakanthêsvara. The change of *r* to *l* being quite natural, Jarakanthêsvara became in course of time Jalakanthêsvara, the modern name of the temple. It is evidently to explain this form of the name that the 'anthill in the middle of a pool of water' is introduced in traditional accounts in connection with the five-headed cobra—the form assumed by Siva.

We will now see if it is possible to ascertain the circumstances which led to the building of the temple. It is alleged that 'feeble piety' could not be an adequate cause for the building of such a temple and that something marvellous must have happened before Bommi Naidu made up his mind about it. The appearance of a five-teated cow suckling a five-headed cobra is considered a miracle sufficient to lead to the building of the temple. This, again, I believe is a deliberate concoction, in which it is easy to trace the work of the manufacturer of local chronicles (*sthalapurânas*) who, in his ignorance of history, is always prone to invent some miraculous legend. To the historical student, who has to look for rational explanations even of mighty events, a less marvellous but more potent cause for the building of the temple is not impossible to find. The great Saiva philosopher Appayadîkshita, who was born at Adayapalam in the North Arcot District, who was looked upon

as an incarnation of Siva and who, to judge from his numerous works,[1] was undoubtedly an extraordinary man, was living at the time to which we have found reason to assign the foundation of the temple. In his *Kuvalayánanda* Appayadîkshita refers to Venkata I. of Vijayanagara as his sovereign.[2] In his *Sivádityamanidîpikâ* he mentions prince Chinnabomma, the son of Chinavîra and father of Lingama Náyaka, as his patron.[3] Both Bommu Náyaka and his son Linga or Lingama Nâyaka bore the following titles:—"Who is engaged in establishing Mahâdêvas (*i.e.*, lingas of Siva) and Mahîdêvas (*i.e.*, Brâhmanas); who is the foremost of those who assert the priority of Siva; whose pride are the works (relating to) Siva."[4] Their partiality for the Saiva sect was no doubt due to Appayadîkshita's influence with them. With such men and at such a period of religious excitement as that of Appayadîkshita[5] any small event in favour of the Saiva sect was sure to be perpetuated. The Vilâpâka plates, which have been already mentioned, record the grant of the village of Vilâpâkam near Timiri in the North Arcot District by Linga, the son of Bomma of Vêlûr with the approval of the Vijayanagara king Venkata I. in Saka Samvat 1523 (= A. D. 1601-2).[6] The village granted received the new name Jvarahar-Linga-samudra, in which *samudra* is a common ending of village names, Linga is the name of the donor and Jvarahara, 'the destroyer of fever,' his surname. Bomma or Sinna Bommu Nâyaka evidently called his son after the god Jvarakhandésvara of the Vellore temple, which he had probably built. He seems to have possessed much faith in the fever-curing power of the god Siva. To suppose that he had some ocular distance of this power of Siva is only natural under the circumstances. Perhaps he himself or some member of his family suffered from fever, which could not be cured by any

[1] In his *Catalogus Catalogorum* Professor Aufrecht mentions more than sixty works of Appayadîkshita.

[2] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI., p. 28.

[3] Dr. Hultzsch's *Second Report on Sanskrit* MSS., p. xiii.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV., p. 271.

[5] The Vaishnava teacher Tâtârya (or Tâtâchârya as he is popularly known) was the family priest of Venkata I. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV., p. 274, verse 23) and the Saiva-Vaishnava controversy must, in consequence, have reached an acute stage at the time.

[6] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV., p. 270.

medicines then known.[1] And it might be that devotion to the god Siva, prompted perhaps by Appayadîkshita, brought about a cure. This recovery from fever, which would be looked upon as miraculous, was probably the immediate cause which led to the building of Jvarakhandésvara temple, while the ultimate cause must have been the Saiva religious revival in the sixteenth century, of which the great Appayadîkshita was undoubtedly the central figure.

V. VENKAYYA.

ARYAN MIGRATION TO THE EAST.

THE ancestors of the Hindus are called Aryans. It is generally believed that their original home was somewhere in Central Asia and that they settled in the land now known as Afghanistan two or three thousand years before Christ. This land they called Kamboja and Gandhara. Later on they moved further east and settled in the Gangetic valley. Their movement was not unobstructed. The black aborigines who opposed them were either driven to the mountains or made slaves. By about 1000 B.C. the Aryans were complete masters of the whole country now known as 'Hindustan.' The formation of the early Aryan kingdoms and their internal strifes form the theme of the Mahábharata. Their southward march is described in the Rámáyana.

Increase of population, and more especially love of adventure and conquest, impelled these Aryans to seek newer lands. They established small colonies on the sea-coast of Burma, Siam, and Cambodia. But they do not appear to have been very successful here. Parties settled in Sumatra, Java, Bali, and other islands and exercised paramount control over these dominions for over a thousand years. This I shall attempt to prove in the following pages.

The proofs can be classed under the following five heads :—

i. *Names of places, mountains and rivers.*—We shall see that several names in the countries mentioned above are of Sanskrit origin and that the same names are still found in India.

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[1] As an instance of how kings in India suffered in ancient times from incurable fevers, it may be mentioned that in the eleventh century A. D., the Western Châlukya king Ahavamalla-Sômêsvara drowned himself in the Tungabhadrâ, because the malignant fever from which he was suffering could not be cured; see the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., pp. 215 f. and 442.

ii. *Language and Literature.*—The main feature here is the existence of Sanskrit works in Java and Bali.

iii. *Architecture and Archæology.*—Our chief authority under this head is Fergusson. The main feature here is the existence of several temples in those countries dedicated to Hindu gods such as Siva, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga, the structure of these ruins, their sculpture and inscriptions in them, clearly showing their Indian origin.

iv. *Customs and manners of the people.*—We shall be able to observe very curious agreements here.

v. *History and Tradition.*—References are found to emigration from India and to Hindu suzerainty over these lands in Burmese, Siamese, Cambodian, Javanese, Chinese and other annals. This is very important evidence as we shall see later on.

Before proceeding to enter into the details of these proofs, it is necessary that we should have a clear idea of the position of the countries to the east of India. On the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal and due east of the country known as the Northern Circars lies the District of Pegu, once a flourishing Hindu Kingdom. Its position in relation to the Northern Districts is important; because most of the authorities are agreed that Thatun, modern Pegu, was colonised from Telingana or Kalinga. East of Pegu, and separated from it by the small strip of land known as Tenasserim, lies the kingdom of Siam. South-east of Siam and south of Anam we have Cambodia. The island of Sumatra lies to the south of the Malay Peninsula. East of Sumatra is the island of Banka. South-east of Sumatra we have Java, the most important of these islands.

Java contains more volcanoes than any other land of equal extent. In 1772, 40 villages were destroyed. In 1815, in the island of Sambahva 12,000 people perished. "That noble and fertile island—the very garden of the East and perhaps upon the whole the richest, the best cultivated and the best governed tropical island in the world—owes its very existence to the same intense, volcanic activity which still occasionally devastates its shores." The sea in the Archipelago and between the islands under notice and the mainland is very shallow, 40 fathoms or 240 feet being the maximum depth. The flora and fauna show the closest resemblance to those of Siam and the Himalayas. Wallace thinks that the islands were connected with the continent by land, the subsidence of the surrounding ground being due to volcanic eruption.

We shall pass on to view in detail the heads of proofs mentioned above. The first is the names of countries, towns, mountains, rivers, &c. We shall begin with Burma.

'*Burma*' is the same as Brahma. This is simply an instance of metathesis, cf. thrid and third. The Burmese called themselves 'Brahma Ghe'—descendants of Brahma. 'Brahma' in Sanskrit is the name of one of the Tri Murti. In Pali it means *celestials*. The capital of Burma was *Amarapura*, 'City of the Immortals.' This is the name of Indra's capital according to our Puranas. *Theebaw* is 'Deva,' name of a king. *Rangoon* is 'Ranganta,' the final 't' being dropped in Burmese, as in Mengun and Thatun. 'Ranganta' means 'end of battle.' This name is based on a legend. Two brothers quarrelled with each other for their father's throne and the impending battle was averted by the building of a temple by the younger. Hence the name 'end of battle.'

Similarly *Thatun* is 'Thatanta,' 'end of land.' This was the former capital of Pegu. It was once a flourishing port. The silting of the river has now made it an inland city. Its other names were *Ratha Puri* or 'City of Chariots' and *Sutharma Nagara* or 'City of Charity.' *Irawadi* is the name of the chief river here. This is the name of Agnimitra's queen in Kalidasa's Malavikagnimitra. It is a corruption of 'Iravatha,' the name of Indra's elephant. It is a curious fact that white elephants are found on the banks of this river. Indra's 'Iravatha' was a white elephant. It is probable that the ancient Aryans looked upon this land as the 'Brahmaloka' so frequently referred to in the Hindu scriptures. It is equally probable that the Aryan colonists may have called these places by these mythological names.

Singapore is 'Simha pura.' Cope in his history of the East Indies calls this town 'Simha pura,' 'the City of Lions.' He thinks 'Singapore' shows Tamil corruption. Madrasis are to this day called 'Klings,' an abbreviation for 'Kalingas.' There is also a Cape called 'Kling Point'; as we shall see later on, commerce existed between Singapore and the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari from very early times.

'*Siam*'—various derivations have been given for this word. Some derive it from 'Shan,' as in the 'Shan States.' But the more generally accepted derivation is from 'Sriyam'—wealth. The Javanese call this Suvarna Bhumi (Land of Gold). An inferior kind of ruby is found here. This is still called *Siyam Sigappu* in Tamil. The old capital of Siam was Ayodhya. This town still

exists but its importance is gone. A temple dedicated to Rama is found here. The modern capital is *Bangkok—Vangaka,* so called from tin mines in the neighbourhood. Vanga is Sanskrit for tin. Cf. Bengal.

Cambodia is Cambhoja. This is the name given to this country in the old annals and also in certain newly discovered Chinese records. 'Kambhoja' country in India is mentioned in our Epics and Puranas. It has been identified with the country around modern Cabul. Probably Kambodia was colonised from Kambhoja. The capital of Cambodia was *Inda-Patha-Puri,* the old capital of the Pandavas and the modern Delhi. There is another town which was the capital for some time, named *Patanta Phrom*—Brahma Pattana—town of Brahma. There is a temple of Brahma here. It is a curious fact that there are few temples in India dedicated to Brahma.

Sumatra—probably 'Sumatru'—'Good Mother.' The first emigrants from India as we shall see later on first landed in Sumatra. Hence probably they gave it the name of 'Good Mother,' 'Sumatru,' in grateful dedication. Cf. Cape of Good Hope. Sumatra might also be 'Sumitra'—'Good Friend.' The following names are found in Sumatra; *Indra Puri, Delhi, Indra Giri,* mountain and river, *Hari* and *Gouri* rivers, *Kling Pt.* and *Kotaraja.*

Banka Islands—Cf. Vanga.

Now we pass on to *Java.* Java is a corruption of Yava जव or यव. The meaning of the word Yava or Yavana has been much disputed. Some scholars think that it refers to the Greeks. Others are of opinion that it refers to the Arabs. In the Raghuvamsa, a Kavya of Kalidasa, the word Yavanani is used and it appears from the context that the word refers to a Parsi woman. It seems to me that the word 'Yavana' was indiscriminately used by the ancient Aryans to denote all civilised nations outside India. The less civilised they called 'Mlecchas.' 'Yavana' also means 'incense.' 'Yavana Priya' is pepper. Probably pepper was much liked by these Yavanas. 'Yavaneshti' means tin. Spices have been the chief articles of trade from time immemorial. Seeing that *Yavana* was used to denote all civilised outsiders indiscriminately, and seeing that it means pepper, incense and spices, I conclude that '*Yava Dwipa*' or 'island of Java' was the name given by the Aryans to this island.

There is also another derivation suggested. Java was called '*Java Dwipa*' just as India was called *Jambu Dwipa.* Ptolemy calls

it 'Jaba Diu.' 'Java Dwipa' means 'land of java or millet,' the kind of rice we call sago, in Tamil *Jav-Arisi*.

The following names in Java are worth noting; that of the old capital, '*Jacatra*'—the 'Protector of the World;' '*Bramban*' or 'Brahma Vanam,' the 'Forest of Brahma,' a place famous for its 1,000 Saiva temples; *Surakarta, Hastina, Sumeru, Gandhara, Dwaraka, Talakonda, Avangi* (Avanti), *Mt. Arjuna, Mt. Prahu, Mt. Gada, Mt. Sundara, Mt. Kavi, Mt. Ravana.* Mt. Sumeru is the loftiest peak. In India according to our Puranas it is the highest peak in the Himalayas.

East of Java and separated from it only by a small Strait we have the island of *Mathura*. We have two Mathuras in India—Muttra in the north, and Madura in the south. *Lambak* and *Bali* are other islands. Bali is the only island in the Archipelago where Hinduism is still found in its pure form. Lambak is a corruption of Lavanga, cloves. Bali is the name of the famous Asura who was put down by Vishnu in his Vamana Avathara. Bali also means 'oblation.' *Sambu* or 'Chandana Dwipa' or 'Sandalwood Island' and 'Banyag' or 'Merchants' Isles' lie to the east of Bali.

All these names are of Sanskrit origin and most of them are still found in India. How then are we to account for the existence of these names? Only two things are possible. They cannot all be chance coincidences. Either the Aryans have colonised these lands, or the inhabitants of these lands adopted these Aryan names. The latter supposition has no parallels in history and is highly improbable. The former has several parallels, for example, remnants of Roman names in Great Britain and English names in India and America.

II.—Language and Literature.

Fytche in his History of Burma says that the Burmese alphabet is evidently derived from Sanskrit. Prof. Weber thinks likewise of the old characters of Java. According to the Encyclopædia Britannica, "Like all the other languages of the Archipelago except the Malay, the Javanese alphabet is derived from Devanagiri."

The Burmese are very fond of dramas. A study of one of their pieces is very profitable. I find the following references in a drama entitled "The Silver Hill," an English translation of which is found in Fytche's '*Burma, Past and Present*.' In Act I., Scene i. Jambu Dwipa is mentioned. This is the name given to

India in the Puranas. In Scene 3 the Princess addressing her father says, 'like Meru powerful.' Meru is a purely Indian mountain mentioned in ancient Hindu works. The use of this epithet clearly shows the writer to be an immigrant from the land of Bharata. 'The magic noose of the Dragon king' (Scene 5) is clearly a reference to the Naga kings in the Cashmere valley. In Act II, Scene 6 we have the following: 'The King lending ear to some treacherous Brahmin's malicious tongue' . . This is not very complimentary to the Brahmans. Anyhow it shows that the Brahmin was a powerful factor in this state, and could go even so far as to advise the King against the interests of the Heir-apparent. Scene 7. We have again 'certain Brahmins with malicious spite.' Scene 8. 'Through my next ten existences.' The belief in future rebirths is purely Hindu. Scene 9. 'To the Himalayan forests should repair.' This shows the frequent visits of the Burmese to the shrines in the Himalayan valley. Scene 11. The husband sends his ring to his wife for identification. Scene 12. The king to find out his son-in-law orders the bending of a bow. This is a pure imitation of Sita's[1] Swayamvaram. The story also bears very close resemblance to the Rámáyana.

At present, there are two spoken languages in Java, the *Krama* or the language of the Nobles, consisting mostly of Sanskrit words, and the *Ngoko* or the inferior language, a mixture of Malay and other languages. In Java the Nobles speak to the commonalty in the language of the commonalty and the commonalty speak to the Nobles in the language of the Nobles; thus according to clearly understood regulations of etiquette every Javanese plays the part of Nobleman or Commoner to his interlocutor. There is also a Madhya or Middle speech. It is easy to explain the existence of the two languages. The Aryan conquerors, while adopting the language of their Malay subjects, modified it to suit their own tastes and sense of superiority over them.

The literary language of Java is called *Kavi*. Scholars are agreed that this is only a modification of the Sanskrit language. Though a considerable body of Kavi literature is still extant, nothing like a history of it is possible. The foremost place must be assigned to *Bharatha Yuddha*, an Epic which treats of the quarrel between the Pandavas and the Kauravas for the throne of Hastina, celebrated in Párvas i—v. of the Mahábhárata. To the

[1] Pânchâlí's as well.

conception, however, of the modern Javanese, it is a purely native poem; its heroes find a place in the native history and serve as ancestors for their noble families. Sites have been assigned in the island for the places mentioned in the Epic. The following are other Sanskrit works found in Java:—Kalidasa's Raghuvumsa and Kumara Sumbava, parts of the Rámáyana, Kiratarjuniya, Arjuna Vivaka and Kamandaka Niti. Manu Smrithi and Amarakosa are found in Bali. The Beast-Fable which plays so prominent a part in Sanskrit literature has its counterpart here. There are also the puppet plays corresponding to our 'Katha Kali.' Prof. Weber says, "The Kavyas in the Kavi language in Bali fill the blank between the Rámáyana and the other Kavyas." It would seem that Hindus migrated to Java when Kavya literature was flourishing in India.

(*To be continued.*)

S. AIYASWAMI.

NOTES ON THE MADRAS CENSUS REPORT, 1901.

THE report on the last Census of the Madras Presidency, to which we have already referred, is made up of four parts. The last of these deals only with the machinery used in taking the Census and compiling the results. Only a limited number of copies of this were printed, apparently for official circulation. The third part known as "The Provincial Tables" contains figures for the smaller revenue areas known as taluks, and is not likely to require to be referred to except for purposes connected with detailed administration. The Superintendent of the Census thinks that some of these Provincial Tables might be replaced by others of greater interest and suggests that the point will be considered at the next Census. We hope that this suggestion will not be forgotten when the time comes and that the Census authorities will then see their way to compile statistics of caste by taluks. The birthplace and language statistics of taluks may also perhaps be useful. "The Imperial Tables" which form Part II of the series give statistics by Districts and States and in some cases by *cities*, or towns containing over 50,000 inhabitants. These Tables give particulars of the distribution and movement of the people, their religions and castes, the languages which they speak and learn, the callings which they follow, their ages, sexes and conjugal

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[1] Encyclopædia Britannica.

conditions, and last, but not least, the infirmities to which they are subject. But the Superintendent of the Census has spared us the trouble of wading through the 375 pages of this volume by inserting in the Report proper—in some form or other—all the information which the layman need care to have.

The volume containing the Report proper is complete in itself and can be perused without reference to any of the other three parts. It opens with a general table of the contents of all the four parts and then gives a detailed table of its own particular contents. After this comes a collection of eight maps and 35 diagrams exhibiting the principal results of the Census in a form in which they can be grasped with the least effort and greatest effect. The maps appear to have been prepared in the Madras Survey Office to the efficiency of whose work they testify, and the diagrams in the local Government Press. No one will grudge Messrs. Hill and Fisher, the gentlemen in charge of this institution, the well-deserved compliment which Mr. Francis gives them in this connection. To the several chapters of the report are appended a number of *Subsidiary Tables* in which the principal statistics in the Imperial Tables discussed in that chapter are exhibited in condensed and proportional forms.

As regards the general merits of the Report we need say very little here. It is drawn up in an admirable manner and gives instructive and interesting reading. The comments on the statistics are concise and lucid, and though we never meet with a digression which can be avoided Mr. Francis rarely omits to notice the effects of social customs on the condition of the people.

Every one interested in the moral and material progress of the country will find his time and money amply repaid by getting a copy of the Report and reading it for himself. It is available at the local Government Press for the modest sum of Rs. 3.

Excluding native states, the Madras Presidency is 141,705 square miles in extent and contains 38,199,162 persons living in 7,125,160 houses. There are 234 towns with a population of 4,275,178 persons and 54,605 villages with 33,923,984 persons. In the Presidency as a whole there are 1,028 females to every 1,000 males and in the towns 1,038 to every 1,000. There are in the Presidency 50 houses and 270 persons per square mile, and

on an average each house contains five persons. As might be expected, some of the most thickly peopled districts are Tanjore, Malabar and Godavari, and the least are the "Ceded Districts."

The 22 districts into which the Presidency is divided for administrative purposes fall into five well defined *natural divisions* which differ from each other in climate, language and caste. These are (1) the Agency division comprising the Agency tracts of the three northern districts, (2) the East Coast division, made up of the rest of these districts and Kistna and Nellore, (3) the Deccan division, which corresponds to the "Ceded Districts," (4) the West Coast division, containing the two districts on the West Coast and the Nilgiris, and (5) the South, which includes all the remaining districts.

As it is difficult to carry away a clear idea of the very different conditions which prevail in the various parts of the Presidency, if the facts regarding them are considered in a state of diffusion throughout all its 22 districts, the main facts of each subject dealt with in the Report have been focussed into proportional and comparative figures for these five divisions. A statement showing certain particulars in which these differ from one another appears at page 19 of the Report.

The City of Madras is 27 square miles in extent, and contains 55,665 houses and 509,346 persons. There are 2,062 houses and 18,865 persons per square mile, and there are 9 persons per house. The death rate *per mille* during the past decade was 37·6. Out of every 1,000 persons, 806 are Hindus, 113 Musalmans, and 80 Christians and for every 1,000 males in the city there are 984 females. The population increased 12·6 per cent. during the decade and 28·1 per cent. during the last thirty years. The Hindus increased 33·1 per cent. during the last thirty years, Musalmans 12·5 per cent. and Christians 10·5 per cent. A statement at page 23 gives particulars for each of the eight Municipal divisions into which the city is divided: but an ordinary resident of the city knows only the name of the suburb he lives in—Peddunayakanpetta, Chintadripetta, Royapetta or any other petta as the case may be—and learns of these Municipal divisions only when he has a grievance against the assessors of Profession or House tax or is called upon by an aspirant for Municipal honours to exercise his electoral franchise. Moreover, these suburbs, which

are more or less separate villages, are in some cases subject to different conditions and have accordingly developed different characteristics. We are sure that figures by suburbs will be welcomed by all classes of citizens and suggest that the matter should be at least considered at the Census of 1911. As a matter of fact the first reference we had real occasion, not arising out of curiosity, to make to the Census Tables ended in a disappointment —it was in search of the population of one of these parts of the city. We would perhaps go even a step further and ask why our City Fathers cannot have a Census Superintendent and a report of their own. The Bombay and Calcutta Corporations had their own Censuses, and our Municipal Act does not prevent our having one of our own. Probably the exception made in the case of the third city in India is because it is held to be benighted!

The population of the Presidency has increased 7·2 per cent. during the decade and 22·1 per cent. during the last 30 years. The highest advance was in the East Coast and South divisions and the least in the Agency, where it was only 19 in 1,000. The remarks of Mr. Francis in para. 17 of Chapter II of his Report suggest many points on which available information is defective but a knowledge of which is necessary for an adequate examination of the probabilities in each district of dangerous pressure of the population upon the available means of subsistence. In a country where nearly three-fourths of the population is depending on land for its maintenance, and each decennial Census shows an increase in population, the question must arise for practical solution at no very distant date: and we cannot too soon begin the close and serious study of the economic condition of the country. Much useful work has already been done in this country and in England; but the chief defect, it appears to us, in such enquiries has been that the investigators travelled over a much wider area than could be clearly grasped in a single view and had accordingly sometimes to content themselves with a number of vague and general propositions which elicit from Government replies of a like nature. The line of action which, in our opinion, is likely to be more fruitful of practical results is a patient and careful examination of the agricultural and economic condition of a particular and limited area and a clear statement of the existing defects and the reforms which would set them right. The machinery of Government is slow to move in matters like this: but there are many educated

landholders in this country who must have the leisure and inclination to conduct an enquiry on these principles, and if these really show an anxiety and an aptitude to help in the solution of the problem, we have no doubt but that the Government will co-operate with them.

There are 14 districts which exhibit increases of population equal to or above the mean for the Presidency. Among these are Kistna and Godavari and two of the Ceded Districts. Malabar and Tanjore show increases below the mean, but in the latter case this is due to emigration. The emigrants are usually agricultural labourers who prefer to try their fortunes in wider fields than the acre of land on which their families had toiled from generation to generation. Mr. Francis in his comments on the movement of population directs attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the vital and migration statistics maintained by Government. We hope that steps will be taken to remedy the present state of affairs.

One of the Tables appended to Chapter II of the Report shows the number of persons born in other provinces but enumerated in Madras, and another the number born in Madras but enumerated in other Provinces. It would have been useful in the solution of some social and economic questions if the Census authorities had told us what the caste and occupation of these people were. We hope that some attempt of the kind will be made at the next Census.

Of every 10,000 people in the Presidency, 8,916 are Hindus, 642 are Musalmans, 269 are Christians, 166 are Animistic and 7 are Jains. Of the smaller religious communities, Parsis number 356, Buddhists 241 (among these there are *five* males for every female), Sikhs 92, Jews 45 and Confucian 1. Twenty-five persons do not profess to follow any of these stereotyped modes of belief, 15 of these calling themselves theists, 6 Brahmos, 2 agnostics, 1 an atheist and 1 a deist. The Hindus have increased 6·3 per cent. during the decade, Musalmans 9·1 per cent., Christians 18·1 per cent. and Animists 35·7 per cent. The Jains have remained pretty nearly stationary. More than one-third of the Musalmans of the Presidency are found in a single district (Malabar) and the Animists occur chiefly in the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. The abnormal increase in the number of these last is due to the fact that the line between them and the Hindus

has been more accurately drawn than heretofore. We are told that the Madras Government in its Government Order on the Census doubts the wisdom of separating Hindus and Animists on the ground of the difficulty of drawing the line accurately between them. It is difficult to draw the line between plants and animals but nobody thinks plants and animals should be lumped together. Hinduism and Animism are very different though they shade off into one another, and we hope that when the arrangements for the next Census are made the Government of India will treat this aberration of our Government with the disregard it merits.

The Hindus are divided into some 450 castes which do not dine or marry with each other, and these fall under six linguistic and 14 social groups. Space does not permit any detailed discussion of the valuable material collected by Mr. Francis in chapter VIII of his Report, and we only reiterate the wish we have already expressed that Government will take steps for the separate publication of this part of the Report. In the absence of the anthropometrical data being collected by the Ethnographic Survey, it will be premature to pronounce any opinion on the racial characteristics of the South Indian population: but we may state here that some at least of the castes appearing in the glossary will bear further research. The official channel is not always the most convenient or efficient medium for the elucidation of social questions, and we would urge readers of this Magazine and others interested in South Indian Ethnology to work up the subject on the lines so well indicated by Mr. Francis and thus help to create a good and reliable literature on the subject before the next Census comes to be taken. The result of Mr. Thurston's labours will also have been published then.

Musalmans in this Presidency constitute only 6 per cent. of the population. They are of three descriptions: (*a*) those who are immigrants from other provinces and countries, or pure-blooded immigrants of such descendants; (*b*) those who are the offspring of immigrant men by Hindu women of this country; and (*c*) those who are full-blooded natives of the Presidency who have been converted to Islam. What proportion each class bears to the others it is not possible to accurately determine: but the statistics of parent tongue would appear to show that a large number of them must in any case be converts or of mixed race. The majority of Indian Musalmans are Sunnis.

Christians have during the last decade increased to a remarkable extent, being 1,038,854 strong against 879,437 in 1891, that is, they number 159,417 or 18·1 p. c. more than they did ten years ago. Taken by themselves and excluding Europeans and Eurasians, Native Christians have advanced by 19 p. c. In the decade between 1881 and 1891 the increase among them was even more striking, being 49 p.c., and during the last thirty years it amounts to 99 p.c. against an increase in the population as a whole of 22 p.c. In other words, Native Christians have multiplied between four and five times as fast as the population generally.

It is gratifying that Mr. Francis has nothing but kind words for the members of the Native Christian community. He observes that the converts, as a class, use their opportunities so well that the community is earning for itself a constantly improving position in the public estimation and that the literacy of the Native Christian is yearly enhancing the position which he holds among the people. In dealing with the aspiring Hindu castes, he justly states that a caste does not enhance its real position by wearing threads, marrying its children as infants, and giving itself a high-sounding name, but that it can obtain far more honourable distinction by educating its members and elevating their lives, and cites the Native Christians as affording an example of how much can be done to raise a community by unpretentious efforts in these directions. In his remarks on the reasons for the increase among Christians, he overlooks some of the elements in the case. It is true that the material motives suggested by Mr. Francis are present in many cases and may be the sole ones in some : but there are few even among Pariah converts for whom 'conversion' to Christianity does not involve both a moral change to some extent and some spiritual enlightenment. Moreover even a rural Pariah when he becomes a Christian has to boldly face the apprehension which inveterate superstition raises that to slight the ancestral gods is to court punishment, to set himself against the current opinion of his community, and to break with its past. He exposes himself to the anger of his master, probably risking the loss of work and livelihood. Almost every conversion involves self-sacrifice to some real extent, and even if the sacrifice is made in the hope of future good, this good is usually intangible and the hope has something of faith in it. Even in the most unsatisfactory cases a convert has so far exercised a moral judgment as to have thrown in his lot with a reli-

gion which he sees to be beneficent as against a religion which offers him neither love nor hope. Western Christians after self-examination will not criticise too keenly the motives which in India bring men to Christ.

Mr. Francis, as many missionaries know, took great pains to secure accurate returns as to the division of the Christian population among the different churches. But the inability or unwillingness of many Christians to give an exact term, and perhaps the ignorance of Christianity of some of the Census workers has prevented him from obtaining more than partial success. As the figures stand, of every 1,000 Christians, 620 are Roman Catholics, 135 belong to the Church of England, 115 are Baptists, 75 are Lutherans, 25 are Congregationalists and the remaining 30 belong to seven different sects. But any missionary could point out obvious errors in the figures.

The Occupation statistics of the population extend over 140 pages and 2,850 columns: but even this elaborate table has to content itself with showing the occupations clubbed into 520 "groups." 69 p.c. of the people live by agricultural, 17·5 p.c., by industrial, and 1·5 p.c., by professional occupations: but in towns the industrial occupations, especially the provision of food, drink and dress, form the chief means of subsistence of the population. The points which a perusal of these figures brings out are the rural simplicity of the occupations by which the bulk of the population subsists and the want of diversity in them. Capital and energy are not wanting even in this poor country to improve the industrial side of life; and here is a field where the native of India can learn—unencumbered by favouritism or race-prejudice—those virtues of united action, self-sacrifice, endurance and patience which go to make up the prosperity of a nation. The educated young man, if he desires to prove himself worthy of the training he has received, can at this stage of the progress of the country set few nobler ideals of duty before him than to contribute to its industrial regeneration. The discipline thus gained will, we venture to affirm, help, above most other forces now at work, to create a nation possessed of affluence, self-reliance and independence.

A new feature of the Occupation statistics of the present enumeration is the compilation, for the first time in the history of Indian Censuses, of figures showing the callings which are followed by the members of certain castes. These figures are of much

interest. They will effectually demolish any vestige which may remain of the idea that the functions of the South Indian castes are still confined to the narrow limits laid down for them in Manu and the Vedas or by tradition, and that the Brahmans are still exclusively engaged in priestly duties, the trâder castes in commerce, and the cultivator and agricultural labourer castes in tilling the land; that the weaver castes still confine themselves to providing the clothes, and the toddy-drawer castes, the liquid refreshment, of the village community, and that the cobbler and the smith castes still stick exclusively to the last and the anvil at which their forefathers worked for so many generations. Mr. Francis reminds us that these figures are expensive and troublesome to compile; but the statistics he has compiled are so interesting that we are tempted to wish that more had been given. The subject deserves closer study and we hope will receive adequate treatment in 1911.

The chapter on education does not leave pleasant recollections. In Census phraseology "literate" merely means "not illiterate": but even this limited amount of learning is possessed only by 63 in every 1,000 of the total population—119 in every 1,000 males and only 9 in every 1,000 females. Of 1,000 males of the Hindu, Musalman and Christian religions, 116, 141 and 198 respectively are "not illiterate," and of 1,000 females respectively 7, 9 and 91. In every district in the Presidency except the Nilgiris (a special case) there is a smaller percentage of males who can read and write than there was in 1891.

Out of every 10,000 persons in this Presidency, 9,126 persons speak a Dravidian language, and only 813 an Aryan language, while of every 10,000 persons in the whole of India in 1891, 7,526 spoke an Aryan language only and 2,021 a Dravidian language. The consideration of these figures may be recommended to the members of the Universities Commission, who do not seem to know the difference between South India and the rest of the country as regards language.

Animists, and Animistic women in particular, are much more short-lived than the followers of any other of the main religions. This characteristic has been noticed in other provinces also. The proportion of children under five years of age is highest among Musalmans and Christians.

There are now in this Presidency 545,074 more females than males or 1,029 of the former to every 1,000 of the latter. In 12 out of the 25 districts, however, there are fewer of the fair sex than of the other. From these Mr. Francis excludes the three Agencies (as due to indifferent enumeration), Madras City (which exhibits urban characteristics) and the Nilgiris (as affected by the number of immigrant labourers). As regards the deficiency in the seven other districts (Kistna, Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Chingleput), he thinks there is considerable ground for supposing that it is to no small extent due to the deaths among young girls which are occasioned by forcing maternity upon them while they are still immature. We do not pretend to a knowledge of the country which will enable us to controvert the ingenious explanation which Mr. Francis has taken considerable trouble to set forth, but we invite all our readers who possess special knowledge of the subject or of local physical conditions to throw additional light on the subject. It is not at first sight clear why there should be a disproportionate mortality due to this cause in the seven districts named which is absent from the others.

The three distinctive features of the returns of civil condition in an Indian province are the universality of marriage, the early age at which it takes place and the high proportion which the number of widows bears to the number of widowers. It is satisfactory to note that there has been a decline in all these characteristics during the decade and we congratulate the party of reform on the success that has attended their labours so far. We wish them in the next decade a period of further progress.

Four kinds of infirmities were recorded at the Census, namely, insanity, deaf-mutism from birth, total blindness and corrosive leprosy. The figures show that there were 7,276 insane persons, 24,881 deaf mutes, 34,409 blind people, and 13,563 lepers in the Presidency on the 1st March 1901. Of these as many as 240 were suffering from more than one of these afflictions, the commonest combination being insanity and deaf-mutism, and there was one unhappy child who was not only insane and deaf-mute, but blind as well! The number of afflicted shows a decrease with each Census; but the figures are not sufficiently accurate to draw any inferences from them. Mr. Francis considers that no clear inferences appear to be deducible from the distribution of any of the four infirmities territorially or by caste.

NOTES ON THE TAMIL UNION VERSION OF PHILIPPIANS.

It is the opinion of all competent judges that the Union Version of the Bible is a great work, the product of many years' labour on the part of several eminent scholars. It may be contended that other versions have more literary grace; but for fidelity to the original and clearness the Union Version is undoubtedly best. The scholars who produced it are rightly looked up to with reverence. But he would be more daring than wise who would venture to assert that their work does not need revision or that such a revision will not at some time become imperative. For growing acquaintance with the Scriptures, especially in the original tongues, will inevitably awaken in the Tamil Christian mind an unquenchable longing to have the Tamil Bible as faithful a reproduction of the original as men by the blessing of God can make it. The old witticism that a bishop is the only author who does not suffer by translation holds good of the writers of the Bible. As light is refracted when passing into a denser medium, so it is inevitable that the thought of a writer should be refracted in translation from Greek to a language so widely different in structure as Tamil, which has a vocabulary whose history is utterly foreign to Greek and Jewish ideas. It is the business of the translator to bridge as far as possible the gulf between Philippi in the First Century and South India in the Twentieth. How difficult the task they will be readiest to admit who have made the attempt for themselves. There are two reasons why an attempt should be made to improve the great Union Version. We have a better text than our fathers had, *viz.*, that underlying the English Revised Version. I suspect that they were not above the temptation to choose their readings from various texts, though supposed to adhere to the Textus Receptus. Now, however, the Bible Society has sanctioned the use of the Revisers' Text. We also have at our disposal the latest works of European commentators, which were not in existence when the Union translation was made. The translator is bound at times to interpret. Now new light has been thrown on some passages which make the old interpretation and therefore translation untenable. This is conspicuously true of II. 6 in our Epistle.

The aim of the present series of papers is a modest one. I shall endeavour to suggest what appear to me improvements (how they will appear to others is a very different matter). But

more often than not I shall content myself with pointing out the extent of our loss in the Tamil rendering of Scripture, without being able to suggest any way of making good that loss. This will I hope have a two-fold effect. It ought to stimulate native Christian scholars to familiarise themselves with the originals of their Scriptures. It will also show those who cannot possibly study the Greek, that there is in our Tamil version rather a loss of accuracy and colour than of any truth which is vital to salvation.

CHAPTER I.

Verse 1. I wonder why our translators have rejected அடியார் in favour of the somewhat bald ஊழியக்காரர் as a translation of δοῦλος (slave, bondservant, devoted.) In its ordinary sense of slave, அடிமை and, in its religious signification, அடியான் are the commonest Tamil equivalents of δοῦλος. அடிமை is also used in the religious sense of a devoted follower of a divine person, which is certainly the sense here. Thus in திருவாசகம் XXI. 9.

உகந்தானே அன்புடை அடிமைக்க
உருகா உள்ளத் துணர்விலியேன்.

See also XXXIII. 36. (Pope's Edition).

The probability is that most readers think ஊழியக்காரன் indicates S. Paul's apostolic office, whereas the true idea in δοῦλος is that of devoted attachment to the person of his Master. This is common to all true Christians. S. Paul prefers to class himself with his readers where possible. In this Epistle especially he addresses the Philippians chiefly as a brother not as a Church official.

διάκονος (servant, worker, deacon) in its ordinary sense of servant is translated in the New Testament variously by பணிவிடைக் காரன், வேலைக்காரன், and ஊழியக்காரன். When used to denote a Christian worker in general without reference to any specific office ஊழியக்காரன் is consistently used. When however Church officials are indicated as here and in 1 Tim. iv. 6, etc., உதவிக்காரன் is the word employed. It may be questioned whether this is a happy translation. For whether we give a more or less precise official meaning to διάκονος here, உதவிக்காரன் is an unsatisfactory rendering. If we hold that the office of deacon was fully developed at Philippi, why not boldly transliterate as the English has done? If on the other hand we lean to the view that the diaconate was not yet at this time so fully developed as to require a more specific designation than "workers," why not follow Fabricius and Perci-

val in using ஊழியக்காரன், a course which has the merit of consistency? If we read ஊழியக்காரர் here, that would be an additional reason for rendering δοῦλος by அடியார் or அடிமைகள் above.

Verse 2. ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ (From God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ). ἀπὸ denotes the source from which the grace and peace flow. Moreover the fact that the preposition is not repeated before κυρίου makes the whole a composite expression. This shows that the apostle looked upon Jesus Christ as one with the Father in the bestowment of grace and peace. These ideas do not appear in the Tamil. For the third case in ஆல் implies the agent rather than the source. The two ideas are distinct though closely related. Perhaps we might read பிதாவாகிய தேவனிலும் கர்த்தராகிய இயேசு கிறிஸ்துவிலும் நின்று.

Verse 3. ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. ("For your fellowship *in furtherance* of the gospel.") "அதற்கு உடன்பட்டவர்கள்" is quite inadequate. It might translate τῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν but it quite fails to bring out the force of εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, which indicates not merely fellowship in receiving the gospel but fellowship with S. Paul in propagating it. Fabricius and Percival were nearer the truth with அதற்கு ஐக்கியமானவர்கள். But that is not sufficiently explicit. We might read சுவிசேஷம் பிரபலிய மாகிறதற்கு ஐக்கிய மானவர்கள். The reason why S. Paul especially rejoices is that from the first day of their Christian life the Philippians have taken an active part in the support and extension of the Gospel of which their recent gift to him is another proof. The U. V. simply means that they assented or yielded to the Gospel, not that they had fellowship with Paul in spreading it.

Verse 7. உங்கள் எல்லாரையுங் குறித்து நான் இப்படி நினைக்கிறது எனக்குத் தகுதியாயிருக்கிறது. Few intelligent readers of the Tamil Bible could be expected to discover that this clause refers to the statement in verse 5. It ought certainly to be brought further forward in the sentence, so that its reference may become plain. If so the whole verse will require re-casting. The following is as nearly as possible a literal rendering of the Greek. நான் உங்கள் எல்லாரையுங் குறித்து இப்படி நினைக்கிறது எனக்கே [ἐμοί is emphatic. 'It is right for me to feel thus, whatever others may do.'] நியாயம். ஏன் என்றால் என் கட்டுகளிலும் நான் சுவிசேஷத்திற்காக உத்தரவு சொல்லி அதைத் திடப்படுத்தி வருகிறதிலும், எனக்கு அளிக்கப்பட்ட கிருபையில் பங்குள்ளவர்களாக உங்கள் அனைவரையும் என் இருதயத்தில் தரித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறேனே.

Verse 9—11. The U. V. breaks this prayer up into two co-ordinpate etitions whereas in the original there is only one fundamental

request—ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον περισσεύῃ κ. τ. λ. (That your love may abound yet more and more, etc.) The relation of the subordinate clauses in the Greek are represented in the following translation :—

அன்றியும் நான் வேண்டிக் கொள்ளுகிறதென்னவென்றால்: தேவனுக்கு மகிமையும் துதியும் உண்டாக, இயேசு கிறிஸ்துவின் மூலமாய் வருகிற நீதியின் கனியால் நீங்கள் நிறைந்தவர்களாகி கிறிஸ்துவின் நாளுக்கென்று துப்புரவானவர்களும் இடறலற்றவர்களுமா யிருக்கும்படி, நீங்கள் உத்தமமானவைகளை ஒப்புக்கொள்ளத்தக்கதாக உங்கள் அன்பானது அறிவிலும் எல்லா உணர்விலும் இன்னும் அதிகமதிகமாய்ப் பெருகவேண்டும் என்பதே.

In the above an attempt is made to preserve the sequence of S. Paul's thought. He prays for an increase of intelligent love, which will enable the readers to discriminate and approve things that are excellent, in order that they may be void of offence in view of the day of Christ, so that (and this is the ultimate end of all Paul's prayer) God may be glorified. The first step in the series is the increase of love which by the various steps indicated above results in the glory and praise of God. This connection is lost in the U. V.

12. The translation of μᾶλλον (rather) is a difficulty, which the U. V. does not attempt to solve. The word is here almost equivalent to the Latin 'ultro,' 'actually,' and expresses the contrast between the expected and actual results of Paul's imprisonment. It seems impossible to render it neatly in Tamil. எதிர் பாராத விதமாய் gives the idea but is too cumbrous.

13. The U. V. follows the old rendering of ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ. We must now substitute for this the Tamil equivalent of 'Praetorian guard.' The Greek has set us the example of transliterating the Latin 'praetorium.' That would probably be the wisest course to follow. If that is thought objectionable we may use some such expression as ராயனுடைய மெய்க்காவலர். At any rate அரமனை must be abandoned if we are to follow most modern editors.

14. சகோதரரில் அநேகர். This scarcely gives the exact meaning of τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ἀδελφῶν, 'the majority of the brethren.' 'Many of the brethren' is not necessarily the same as 'the greater number of the brethren.' 'Many of the brethren' might be used of an actual minority of the whole number who were nevertheless themselves numerous. On the other hand 'the majority of the brethren' is a comparative expression and gives us no hint of the actual number of persons meant. They might conceivably have been few, though a majority of the whole,

Tamil finds it difficult to bring out such distinctions. சகோதரரில் அநேகர் would ordinarily mean 'many of the brethren,' but also might possibly mean 'a majority of the brethren.' We shall not, however, be wrong in substituting for it the unambiguous சகோதரரில் பெரும்பாலார்.

C. H. MONAHAN.

(To be continued.)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

In our last issue we expressed the opinion that the arrangements for the Delhi Durbar portended excessive expenditure. Almost simultaneously Lord Curzon defended the scale on which it is to be conducted, using the very arguments with which we dealt. We found nothing in his speech to change our opinion; indeed it but confirmed it. It seems the cost to the Imperial Government is to be 39½ lakhs of rupees, though a proportion of this will be recovered from those who attend the Durbar. In addition there is the expenditure of the Local Governments. We do not deny the advantage to the State of a Durbar, but the advantage seems to be purchased too dear. But the expenditure is not confined to Government; every person that attends the Durbar is practically forced by the arrangements into extravagance and waste of money. Many of those who will attend cannot afford the expense; even of those who, in the common use of the phrase, can afford it, how many ought to use their money in this way? To argue as Lord Curzon does that the Government's expenditure is justifiable because it will meet a great deal of it by making those who attend the Durbar pay, and that the expenditure on shows and luxury will increase the wealth of the country shows that he has forgotten the lessons he learnt at School and College. When his colleague, Mr. Raleigh, was an Oxford lecturer, how thoroughly he would have enjoyed exposing the fallacies of a speech like that of the Viceroy on the Delhi Durbar. India can ill afford such a lavish expenditure of either public or private money; and even more injurious to it than the expenditure itself is the evil example of extravagance and ostentatious display.

Somebody has been writing to the *Madras Mail* urging that some representatives of the Missionary body should be invited to the Durbar. One missionary at least has we understand been invited and has declined the invitation. We hope no missionary will allow himself to have any part in the burdening of the people for the expense of the Durbar. And if any one is anxious that Government should recognise missionaries, let him urge it to do so in matters where they can be

useful to the people rather than burdensome. There are missionaries throughout the country as able and as loyal as any Government servant, who know far more of the district where they live than any English official, and who are trusted by the people. Are they ever consulted by the Government? In general the treatment they receive is quite the contrary. A Governor visited a Mofussil station. The Missionary who had resided there for a quarter of a century had been asked in the name of the people to read an address of welcome. The Governor at first refused to accept him as the representative of the people, saying they could never have given such honour to a missionaut Last year a Collector who had recently come to a District treatxpecas liars for several weeks the missionaries who had been workinpugh re for years when they told him that famine relief was imperativch it eeded. We believe that no missionary worth his salt would wish to re thorguest of Government at the Durbar; but many would be glad if theittled. enta-tions on behalf of neglected villagers were treated with moto-respect.

We are glad to hear that arrangements have been made by which purdah ladies may see the Durbar ceremonies. When such shows are 'going,' this class is the one most likely to get most enjoyment and profit out of them. Mr. Malabari's comment however is *à propos:* that some time perhaps ladies who are not purdah may also have provision made for them.

The Minute of the Government of India in which it expressed its views on the petition of the Famine Union for the appointment of a commission to investigate the causes of Indian famines has been published. It is clever and abounds in good debating points. It scores a victory from the academic point of view over the petitioners, but we confess we think that it would have been truer statesmanship to show a little more sympathy. There is a little too much of the tone of an Oxford Union debate in it. More good than harm would we believe have come from the granting of the petition. It was easy to point out the inconsistencies of the petition and the danger of misunderstanding and friction that might ve followed the appointment of the Commission; but a balancing of the possibilities of good with these dangers might surely have been looked for.

Mr. Malabari addresses in the *Voice of India* to the Indian people a sermon on their apathy. His text is the gift by Mr. N. M. Wadia of Rs. 10,000 to the Pasteur Institute, Kasauli. It seems that when the Pasteur Institute was first proposed, Mr. Malabari was able to create an agitation against the scheme, which led Government to pause. Government was told that the Indian people felt very strongly on the

matter, that they were convinced that the Buisson treatment was as efficacious as it was claimed that Pasteur's is, and that to keep the Pasteur method out of India the people would gladly support the Buisson. Government accordingly held its hand in order to give the ... the opportunity of instituting the system they favoured. Nothing ...one, and finding that the people did not care about the matter ...nent carried out its own plan. And now one of Mr. Malabari's ...ple endows the Pasteur Institute.

...tell the truth we think Mr. Malabari is not so happy in his ...on as usual. He and some friends perhaps did seriously ... the Buisson cure and were strongly opposed to the Pasteur ... But that India in general ever was convinced that the latter ... and the former effective, we do not think. The little circle ... Malabari who shared his views may deserve his rebuke, but ...s apathetic in the matter, its apathy was not of the kind he ... it, the apathy of men who hold strong views but are too ...upon them. It seems to us to have held no views at all ...n apathy which whether it is better or worse is at ...m the former. Personally we are not inclined to ...ter on which India in general should have been ex...ng views.

... has been said it remains true that the apathy of the ... need to be broken, and Mr. Malabari's illustration ...nforce this lesson. For those with whom he worked ... the Pasteur cure are probably the most energetic ...country. If these do nothing to carry out their views ... what may we expect in others? 'If the light that is in ... how great is the darkness!'

...eived Mr. Thurston's Report on the Government ...nemara Public Library for the last official year. Mr. ...ntly to judge from the Government Order on his Report, ...ith the Government and is allowed to go his own way. ...eaucratic fetters and being a man of individuality and ... has an opportunity which we conceive many officials ...doing his work and reporting on it as he thinks best. He ...with freshness. The most important feature of the report ... indicates that Indian gentlemen are beginning to show an ... in those pursuits which the Museum is intended to foster, and ...with European sportsmen, naturalists and collectors in con... its treasures. Among those who have done so in the year ... we are glad to see the names of some old students of our

The most important result of Mr. Thurston's investigations during the year is the discovery 'that the question of the type of the Dravidian head is not nearly so simple and straightforward as I had imagined.' When a few years ago he made his pronouncement on the general uniformity of the South Indian skull, not a few suspected he had spoken a little too confidently and on insufficient evidence. It appears that whereas in the Southern districts of the Presidency nine-tenths of the skulls he has measured are dolicho-cephalic or sub-dolichocephalic, in the Bellary district only four-tenths are. In the South he found only one brachycephalic skull out of 420; in Bellary 65 out of 419. Mr. Thurston writes of ascertaining by 'head-hunting expeditions' throughout the Canarese and Maratha countries the tract through which the short broad type of head prevails and the source from which it arises. The question would seem to demand still wider and more thorough investigation before it can be considered as satisfactorily settled. It is certainly at present in an interesting position, as Mr. Thurston's figures seem to point to the true Dravidian race having long narrow skulls, and to the intrusion into it in the northern part of its territory of a race with a short broad skull.

Almost if not quite the most disappointing revelation made by the Census is that in every district in the Presidency except the Nilgiris—where the conditions are not ordinary—there is a smaller percentage of males who can read and write than there was in 1891. Ten years ago, of every 1000 men (males above 15 years of age) 112 could read and write—now only 103 can. And it is clear that education even now is not keeping pace with the growth of the population, and that, unless there is some marked change for the better, in ten years more not one man in 10 will be able to read. The fault lies no doubt partly with Government, which has until now starved its Education Budget systematically, and has played ducks and drakes with the promises of financial aid it makes to Managers of Aided Schools. But the apathy of the people themselves is still more the cause of the decline. And we are afraid that the educated classes are themselves largely to blame. Some of them are too conservative, some too prejudiced, some too selfish, to wish to see education diffused among the masses. And this is true of many who criticise the Universities Commission for sacrificing surface to depth in the matter of Higher Education and the upper castes. The appeal of the Gaekwar of Baroda to the Government of India to take up seriously the education of the masses will, we hope, awaken even these men to their duty. We trust all our readers will do their utmost to remove from this Presidency this reproach of a growing illiteracy.

This does not mean that we support the action which the Government is taking at present in the matter of Primary Education. We are glad to see that it is devoting money to this branch of the educational system, but the wasteful and reckless way in which it is using its money is an example of how not to do things. The Director is notoriously ignorant of Primary Education, but apparently will not take counsel of those who understand it. It might on good grounds be argued that Government should confine itself in promoting Primary Education to the Grant-in-Aid system. Even if this is departed from to the extent of creating departmental model schools, the utmost care should be taken to secure that these do not interfere with existing schools and that they are not too expensive to serve as practical models to others. We are glad to infer from the last *Gazette* that the Department is not establishing so many of these model schools as it apparently contemplated at first; but its advertisements in the *Gazette* show that the expenditure on the schools is to be inordinately large.

Moreover the Department is still pursuing its objectionable course of interfering with existing aided schools in the selection of places for its model schools. Aided Managers as a class have a great grievance in that the policy is being carried through without any reference to them. Individuals among them have their special grievances also in the way the Department is trying to take their schools from them. As we write there lies before us a copy of a letter from a Sub-Assistant Inspector to a Manager asking him to hand a school over, which for cool impudence it would be hard to beat. We can scarcely believe that either the Government or the Director understands what is going on; but this whole matter is a sad illustration of the narrow and offensive bureaucracy into which Government in this country falls when it is uninformed, unsympathetic and redeless.

An interesting and promising feature of the month has been the taking up of exploration of Central Asia by a Japanese party. Europeans find difficulties on every hand in Central Asia and especially Tibet, from which Japanese will be more or less free. Their affinity to the uncivilised races of the continent gives them an opportunity which their civilisation will enable them to turn to account in extending our geographical and ethnographical knowledge. This reference to the peculiar position of the Japanese may suggest that the popular fallacy of classing Indians and Japanese together as 'Orientals', and arguing from Japan to India is likely to lead to disappointment. In race, climate, civilisation, form of government, religion, history, customs—almost everything that can link or divide nations—Japan and India differ.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Introduction to Poetry. By Laurie Magnus, M. A. London: John Murray, 1902.

Mr. Magnus is already known as a competent writer and critic; a book therefore from his hands deserves to be read and studied. The aim of the present volume is in the highest degree worthy; it is to stimulate among the young a reasonable pleasure in poetry, to "convey the elements of taste and judgment in poetry by the natural or direct method of literature-teaching." Mr. Magnus divides his subject into three parts,—Poetic Expression, Poetic Truth, and the Progress in Poetry. To each of these divisions he devotes about fifty small octavo pages. The work, therefore, as far as length goes, is easily within the compass of a young student, a point of great importance in a book intended for educational purposes. Again, another feature of some value is its frank treatment of the most recent literature, such as Mr. Kipling's stories, and Mr. Stephen Phillips' dramatic writings. Even Lord Rosebery's Chesterfield speech is not forgotten. The application of critical methods to literature still damp from the press is in its way a novelty. These and other commendations we can express with perfect sincerity. Yet when we come to deal with the substance we feel that the book has yet to be written which will adequately accomplish the author's purpose. When he applies his methods to actual passages in literature he does not by any means universally carry our assent with him. Take, *e.g.*, two of his very earliest quotations, both from Carlyle's *French Revolution.* The former is, "Loose-skirted scarecrow of an Herb-merchant, with his ass and early greens, toilsomely plodding, seems the only creature we meet." The latter is "The village-artisan eats with relish his supper of herbs, or has strolled forth to the village-street for a sweet mouthful of air and human news." The latter he regards as "a mere item in a catalogue," the former as "a finished picture." Why? Again though the author aims at simplicity of language he falls not infrequently into the somewhat abstruse and difficult language of ordinary literary criticism. The great value of the book, however, after all deductions, is that it is an attempt in the right direction, and may, probably will, lead to further efforts to render the fundamental facts of poetry plain to the young reader.

The Conqueror. By Gertrude Atherton. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

This is a book of a new kind. In form a novel it is really an attempt to give the history of an historical character. There is very little in the book that is not substantially true; every important event happened exactly as narrated; and there is not a character introduced

that is not a real one. The author tries to imagine the details which have not been recorded in history, and if she had accurately imagined these, the book would be a detailed biography of the hero. The details are as a rule probable enough, but some of the conversations are unnatural. The author scarcely understands how men talk to one another.

The hero is Alexander Hamilton, the statesman of the early years of the United States. And truly there was much in his career which was romantic enough to justify the experiment to turn his life into a novel. The peculiar circumstances of his birth, his early life in the West Indies, the part he played in the War of Independence, his leadership in the framing of the Constitution of the United States, his struggle with Jefferson, and his death at the hands of Burr in a duel are dramatic enough; and the fact that he was ever a fighter gives to everything that he was concerned with all the romance of adventure. To anyone who can appreciate fighting that is not confined to the stroke of sword or thrust of lance, this book will be full of the interest of strife. If adventures are to the adventurous, strifes are to the strife-lover, and it cannot be denied that with all his abilities Hamilton engendered strife wherever he went. Miss Atherton tries to cover this over somewhat and to put the attacks of his rivals down to jealousy, but she has to confess that he was the best hater in the world, and that even his eyes were open at last to the fact that he was full of hatred. His life was impure, and he injured not only his own career but also his patriotic cause by his carelessness in regard to morals. Miss Atherton tries to palliate this sin by the old plea which worked so much evil in the days of Byron, that a man of genius is exempt from the ordinary laws of morality with regard to women. It is strange that she should take this line. The masculine mind has long ceased to give this theory any quarter, and we had thought that all respectable women also regarded it as a devilish delusion. Why she should be so emphatic in defending Hamilton from charges of other kinds of immorality and so lax with regard to this, it is hard to understand. If a man of genius may be impure, why may he not be untruthful or corrupt in money-matters?

With this caution and with the reminder that Miss Atherton is a hero-worshipper who makes her hero's cause her own, and that there was, in all his fights, another side besides Hamilton's that had more to say for itself than she gives it credit for, we can heartily recommend the book. It gives a life-like account of one of the most important periods in human history, a period which it is becoming more and more important for thoughtful men to understand, and it sets before the reader one of the great characters of history. On the title-page the

author quotes Talleyrand's verdict that he considered Napoleon, Fox, and Hamilton, the three greatest men of his time, and that of these the greatest was Hamilton. It is unnecessary to say more to lead our readers to the book. It will be interesting to see whether the success of this experiment, which has the support of Mr. Bryce, will lead other hero-worshippers to follow in Miss Atherton's steps.

Julius Cæsar. Edited by Michael Macmillan. Methuen & Co. London, 1902.

This is the latest volume in the beautiful edition of Shakespeare which is appearing under the general editorship of Dr. Dowden, and on the whole it may be regarded as not unworthy of the series.

Mr. Macmillan acknowledges in his Preface his indebtedness to his predecessors, and certainly he owes a great deal to them and especially to Mr. Mark Hunter. It is we think scarcely too much to say that his Introduction is a recasting of Mr. Hunter's in the College Classics Series edition of the play published by Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari, and in his notes Mr. Macmillan closely follows Mr. Hunter. If Indian editions of Shakespeare do not make their way in the English market it would not seem to be due to their contributing nothing to Shakespearian science. Mr. Hunter however will doubtless be pleased that his views, many of which were new, are passing so quickly into acceptance in standard editions. Mr. Macmillan's most important suggestions are that IV. 3. 5 should read :—

Because I knew the man was slighted off—

Brutus interrupting Cassius before he could finish his sentence, and that later in the scene we have two distinct drafts of a passage side by side. He suggests that Shakespeare originally intended to represent Brutus as stoically quite conquering sorrow for his wife's death, (vv. 180 ff), but afterwards substituted another version in which Brutus shows himself in his more tender character (vv. 145 ff). The two versions being both before the early editors, they misunderstood the case and incorporated both in the text.

The Face of Nature. By the Rev. C. T. Ovenden, D.D. London: John Murray.

This little book is designed to supply material for four popular lectures on scientific subjects. The subjects selected are :—'Weather Forecasting,' 'Vegetable Life,' 'The Record of the Rocks,' and 'The Story of a Common Stone.' These are treated in a simple and interesting manner, and illustrations given which are meant to be reproduced either by copying them on large sheets of paper or by projecting them with the magic lantern. Instructions are given for the preparation of lantern slides by drawing and by photography, and as the illustrations

in the book are very simple the slides could easily be made by drawing. The book is hardly suitable as it is for use in this country, as it has been written for an English audience. Consequently, it does not refer to many things that would be of special interest in connection with these subjects to an Indian audience. In the first lecture, for instance, there is nothing about the monsoons. Still, the book is good so far as it goes and would be very suitable for school libraries.

Electric Wiring. By W. C. Clinton, B. Sc. London: John Murray.

This is a very different kind of book from the foregoing, though it belongs to the same series, for it is as technical as the other is popular. It is a manual for the use of workmen engaged in fitting up electric lamps and bells and keeping them in working order. After an introductory chapter on the measurement of electric currents, a number of chapters follow on the arrangement of conductors in series and parallel, the insulation of wires, the use of switches and fuses, and the other details connected with the installation of a supply of electricity. One of the chapters might be of use to those who have electric bells in their houses, as it gives full particulars regarding the adjustment of the bells and the care of the battery.

The Century Bible. Corinthians. Introduction, Authorized Version, Revised Version with Notes, Index and Map. Edited by J. Massie, M.A., D.D., Yates Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. C. and E. C. Jack.

One who has handled a volume of the Century Bible will need no reminder of the charming get-up. The paper light, thin and yet opaque, the type bold and as befits the work of the printer to the University of Oxford, never crowded, the flexible dark blue cover with striking yet chaste gilt lettering, these are features which are not soon forgotten by the lover of books. The volume on the Epistles to the Corinthians is marked by all these, and though containing 340 pages weighs but 6 ounces.

In the author's prefatory note he expresses his special indebtedness to Schmiedel and Godet for materials in the Introduction and to Weiss, Evans, Edwards and Waite for the means they have afforded of checking his judgment in the exposition. In truth an excellent quarry for the worker on Corinthians. The first 78 pages are occupied with the Introduction and in this are elucidated very many matters which are more usually dealt with in the annotations. We say elucidated advisedly for there is nothing common-place; everything tends to light up some part or other of these difficult epistles. We think we shall be

dealing with the book in the fairest way if we allow it to speak for itself and give a representative extract from the Introduction. The following may be taken as a specimen of the author's way of dealing with the many questions of interest brought to our notice in the letters.

(*a*) Position of Women (xi. 3-16, xiv. 34-36.)

The questions next dealt with are questions touching the church in its relation to its religious services, what Godet calls the 'liturgical questions,' namely, the behaviour of women in the assemblies, the proper celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the public use of spiritual gifts. According to the sanctions of immemorial custom, women, as in the East so also in Greece, were 'rarely seen abroad, and never in any circumstances, played any public part.' Even in the theatres the women's rôles were taken by men. But the consciousness of liberty in Christ Jesus, of equality between man and woman before God, had led women in the Corinthian church to burst their bonds and either assert their right, or yield to the overpowering inspiration to pray and prophesy in public worship, flinging aside the veil which was the sign of their privacy and subordination, and which all Ionian women, unless of bad character, customarily wore. Now Paul was a man of his age, and so far as we can discern his mind on this subject, believed heartily in the subordination of women (xi. 3, 7, xiv, 34 f.): he himself would have been shocked if he had been present at the exhibition of their boldness as they prayed and prophesied unveiled before the men of Corinth. So much we gather from the strength of his language in xiv. 34, 35, 'It is shameful for a woman to speak in the church', and from the significant fact that, in that passage, at the close of his discussion on spiritual gifts, he recurs to this particular point, as though it were vital. The nature, moreover, of the arguments with which he supports his decision seems to imply a persuasion that the subordination of women was *no* passing phase in human conditions, otherwise he would hardly have adduced as pertinent the priority of man in the act of creation (XI : 8, 9; 1 Tim. II. 13), or the presence of the angels at church worship (XI. 10), or the length of the woman's hair given her for a covering (XI. 15), nor would he have made the subjection of woman a lower parallel to the relation of man to Christ, or of Christ to God (XI. 3). But Paul, besides being a man of his age, was also, in the best sense, a man of the world; and, even if he had been as free as a Quaker or as thorough a believer in the emancipation of women as John Stuart Mill, he would have deprecated most earnestly, in the interests of the credit and the spread of Christianity, such a premature and pernicious application to social conditions of the spiritual principle of Christian liberty and equality. The public appearance of woman was not of the essence of Christianity; and a gospel which was foolishness to the Greek and a stone of a stumbling to the Jew did not require the fresh obstacle of a public scandal. Yet the Apostle was no extremist: he would not take upon himself the responsibility of quenching the Spirit even in a woman; and hence—though at the last he forbids altogether the prominence of women in the public services, even to the limited extent of asking questions—he seems in one place (XI. 5) virtually to make the concession, 'If she is to speak, let her at least be modestly veiled.'"

Similarly he deals with the very important chapter on the Resur-

rection, discussing at length the difficult expression "baptized for the dead" and finally summing up thus "Perhaps we could combine the views of Evans and Godet, and say They that are baptized with suffering in expectation of the resurrection of the dead. This explanation, it is true, has against it the third person and the more strongly personal and individual *them* at the end of the verse; but it is linked in sense with the verse following."

From page 135 to 340 we have the Revised Version with Annotations. The method adopted by Professor Massie is as follows: the Epistle is taken paragraph by paragraph and a statement of the theme of each is tersely given in two or three lines. This is followed by a fuller statement of the argument, after which phrases and words calling for explanation are dealt with in the usual way.

As an illustration of the annotations the following may be given :—

"I Cor. X. 4. *a spiritual rock that followed them.* . . . . Much as we may be disinclined to accept the explanation, it seems probable that Paul, in this sentence, is using the Jewish tradition of the rock of Kadesh following the Israelites in their wanderings. It is true that, according to our present information, the tradition of the following rock (Num. xx) does not appear in Jewish literature till after Paul's time, while the earlier tradition connects the 'following' with the well of Beer (Num. xxi). But our passage may reasonably suggest that the following well and the following rock had already begun to be connected in tradition; and, though the tradition may to us be 'puerile,' we must not, on the ground of our modern ideas, separate Paul entirely in these matters from his fellow Rabbis."

Literary Notes.

Last March we referred to the petition for the incorporation by Royal Charter of a British Academy "for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies" which had been presented to King Edward by a number of representative men. The petition was referred to a committee of the Privy Council, and it is now announced that His Majesty has been pleased to accede to the petition and to grant to the British Academy a Royal Charter. The Charter states that the Academy aims at the promotion of the study of moral and political sciences including history, philosophy, law, politics and economics, archæology and philology. It will be seen from this definition of its sphere of action that the British Academy differs very considerably in its aims from the famous Académie Française, inasmuch as it takes nothing whatever to do with current poetry, fiction and belles lettres. Of the original fifty-one petitioners who according to the draft charter were to be the first Fellows of the Academy and to elect a President and Council from among their own number three have died—Lord Acton Mr. S. R. Gardiner and Professor A. B. Davidson. To

make up fifty Lord Rosebery has been added, and the list of the first Fellows of the British Academy is as follows :—

Sir William Anson
Mr. Arthur Balfour
Mr. James Bryce
Prof. J. B. Bury
Prof. S. H. Butcher
Prof. Ingram Bywater
Dr. Edward Caird
Prof. E. B. Cowell
Rev. William Cunningham, D.D.
Prof. Rhys Davids
Prof. Albert Dicey
Viscount Dillon
Rev. Canon S. R. Driver, D.D.
Prof. Robinson Ellis
Mr. Arthur John Evans
Principal Fairbairn
Rev. Robert Flint, D.D.
Mr. J. G. Frazer
Mr. Israel Gollancz
Mr. Thomas Hodgkin
Prof. T. E. Holland
Sir Courtenay Ilbert
Sir Richard Jebb
Mr. W. E. H. Lecky
Prof. F. W. Maitland
Prof. Alfred Marshall
Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell-Lyte
Rev. J. E. B. Mayor
Dr. D. B. Monro
Mr. John Morley
Dr. J. A. H. Murray
Dr. H. F. Pelham
Sir Frederick Pollock
Prof. W. M. Ramsay
Lord Reay
Dr. John Rhys
The Earl of Rosebery
Rev. George Salmon, D.D.
Rev. Canon William Sanday, D.D.
Rev. W. W. Skeat
Sir Leslie Stephen, K.C.B.
Mr. Whitley Stokes
Rev. H. B. Swete, D.D.
Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, K.C.B.
Rev. H. F. Tozer
Prof. Robert Yelverton Tyrrell
Dr. A. W. Ward
Prof. James Ward.

Mr. Clayton in a letter to the *Athenæum* recalls the fact that an attempt was made in the reign of King James I. to found an academy of scholars, lovers of history and antiquities, and others. The originator of the idea was Edmund Bolton, and he was encouraged in his plan by the Duke of Buckingham. The Royal Academy as planned in 1624 was to consist of three classes of persons: Essentials, or working members, of whom Bolton drew up a preliminary list of eighty-four; Tutelaries who were to be the Knights of the Garter, with the Chancellors of the two Universities, and the Lord Chancellor; and Auxiliaries, who were to consist of "lords and others, selected out of the flower of the nobility, and councils of war and of the new plantations." Bolton's list of eighty-four Essentials included among others John Selden, Sir E. Coke, Sir Kenelm Digby, Michael Drayton, George Chapman the Poet, Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. Apparently the death of James I. in 1625 put an end to the scheme.

The death is announced of Mr. Philip James Bailey, the author of *Festus*. Mr. Bailey had attained the great age of eighty-six years, and until a short time ago so little had been heard of him of late that his death had been actually chronicled in at least one "hand-book" of English Literature. The fact is that Mr. Bailey was a man of one book,

and that book is now little read. And yet *Festus* when it appeared in 1839 was hailed as a work of genius, and that too by men who were qualified to speak. Landor praised it, Thackeray called it a work of genius, and Tennyson said that he could scarcely trust himself to say how much he admired it for fear of falling into extravagance. One reason probably why it is little read now is its great length. Mr. Bailey inserted into it the whole of a less successful poem "The Angel World" and parts of other poems also, with the result that while the earlier editions contained 300 pages the later contain twice as many.

Though the war is at an end and the harvest of "khaki" volumes is over there is still an aftermath of books from the Boer side. The most interesting of these will probably be De Wet's account of his campaign, which it is said that elusive general spent his time in writing while on his way to England. Of a different character but also of interest will be the autobiography of Krüger which he has dictated to his secretary Mr. H. C. Bredell and Mr. Peter Grobler. Mr. Fisher Unwin was said to have secured the world copyright of this work which is to appear this autumn, but a later account says a German firm has secured it.

Among the books that are to appear this autumn are the following:—*Biographical Sketches*, by James Bryce; *Just So Stories*, by Rudyard Kipling; *Side-Walk Studies*, by Austin Dobson; *Laughter and Humour*, by James Sully; *James VI. and the Gowrie Conspiracy*, by Andrew Lang; *Poems*, by A. C. Swinburne; *Rural England*, by Rider Haggard; *Historical Essays*, by the late Bishop of Oxford; *The Life of Dr. Martineau*, by the Rev. James Drummond.

The *Pall Mall Magazine* has had recently some interesting articles entitled "As Others See Us," written by American writers and dealing with public men of Great Britain. The September article is on "British Men of Letters," and is said to be from the pen of a well-known American writer who prefers to remain anonymous. Like its predecessors it is interesting, but in writing of Mr. Morley, the author makes a curious mistake. Quoting a well-known anecdote which is told of more than one famous reformed character he says: "'There,' said the author of 'Pilgrim's Progress' when he saw a sinner on his way to gaol, 'there but for the grace of God goes Richard Baxter.'" Anonymity always excites curiosity, but in this case one would specially like to know the name of "the well-known American writer" who fancies that Richard Baxter wrote "Pilgrim's Progress."

In the same article the writer reveals the authorship of "Elizabeth and her German Garden" and "The Solitary Summer," books which

rightly attracted much attention, but which unfortunately gave rise to a host of imitators whose abilities were not equal to their ambitions. It seems that these works are, as one fancied, largely autobiographical, and that their authoress is Countess von Arnim, an English lady, who before her marriage was Miss May Beauchamp. Count von Arnim is the son of the well-known Count who ventured to oppose himself to Bismarck but was crushed by the Iron Chancellor. He was ambassador to France between 1872 and 1874 but fell into disfavour and was accused and convicted of purloining State documents !

SCIENCE NOTES.

The famous pearl fisheries of Ceylon have for some years ceased to be profitable. Professor Herdman, of University College, Liverpool, investigated this at the request of the Ceylon Government and has now issued his preliminary report. He has found that there are enormous quantities of young oysters and that they have insufficient room and food. If they are thinned out and transplanted to suitable unoccupied ground, he is convinced that the pearl fisheries can be not only revived but greatly extended. On one bed alone he found more than a hundred thousand millions of oysters a few months old which were so much crowded together that they were being starved. He found no traces of epidemic disease among them. All that has to be done is to prevent the overcrowding of young oysters and to check overfishing at the other end of the life cycle. A Marine Biological Laboratory is now being established at Galle Harbour where Professor Herdman's assistant, Mr. Hornell, is at work, seeking to find out the best period for dredging and transplanting the oysters. Thus we may expect that ere long the western waters of Ceylon will yield a more abundant supply of pearls than ever.

The death of Professor Virchow last month removes from the ranks of medical science its most distinguished pathologist. His public career began in 1857 when he was sent by Government to combat typhus fever in Silesia. About the same time he founded, in conjunction with his friend Reinhardt, the "Annales d'Anatomie Pathologique et de Clinique Médicale", and by his editing of that journal as well as by his contributions to its pages led the way in pathological research. His most important books were his great treatise on cellular pathology and his memoirs on typhus fever, cholera and trichiniasis. In 1856 he became director of the Pathological Institute in Berlin and as his researches proceeded he gradually formed in it a collection of pathological preparations which is quite unique. He crowned his work in this direction by the erection and superintendence of the Pathological

Museum which is such a splendid feature of the Berlin medical school. Professor Virchow was also famous for the part he took in German public life as an opponent of political and municipal abuses. He was one of the leaders of the party which sought to check the excessive militarism and centralisation of Bismarck, and in Berlin it was chiefly owing to his efforts that that city has become one of the healthiest in the world.

A CAREFUL revision of Wolf's table of sun-spot data has been made by Professor A. Wolfer of Zurich. From this he has computed afresh the number of years in the intervals from one sun-spot maximum to the next and from one minimum to the next. He finds the mean length of the period to be 11·124 ± 0·030 years. Professor Wolfer has also sought for a longer period. He says that while he is satisfied that the variations in the successive periods are themselves in all probability periodic he does not consider that Dr. Lockyer has proved that the length of this period is 35 years. For his own part, he is inclined to think that the available data point to a period of 55 years, which was indeed previously suspected by Wolf himself. His investigations, however, confirm the law discovered by Dr. Halm regarding the variability of the interval between minima and maxima. This law, in Dr. Halm's own words, is that "in the individual spot periods the maximum occurs earlier in proportion as the development of the spots is more rapid." Dr. Halm proved it by showing that the ratio of the ascending to the descending part of the 11-year period varied in the same way as the interval between a minimum and the following maximum. Professor Wolfer exhibits it very clearly by taking in comparison with this the ratio of the sum total of the annual sun-spot numbers for the whole period to the length of the period.

Dr. HALM has proposed a very ingenious theory to account for the periodicity of the sun-spots and the other associated solar phenomena. It is that the radiation emitted by the sun is less as the sun-spot maximum period approaches, and that the spots, prominences, and faculae are the volcanic evidences of a superheated condition within the sun. This condition is the result of the interior of the sun being heated by contraction faster than radiation can take place through its atmosphere. Consequently there must be a periodic restoration of the temperature equilibrium. This is brought about by the increased circulation, reheating, and resulting greater transmissive power of the solar atmosphere. Then the atmosphere becomes more opaque again by the gradual cooling of its outer layers during the succeeding relatively calm state. There are no data available as yet by which such a theory may be tested. The ordinary observations of the total solar radiation are of no use be-

cause of the vitiating effect of the earth's atmosphere. Such observations must be taken at as high an altitude as possible and record the radiation from different parts of the sun's disc.

THE study of earthquakes in Japan is being carried on very systematically by Dr. Milne's pupils. Dr. F. Omori, who is professor of seismology at Tokio, has published the results of recent observations. From these observations he has plotted a series of seventy-six curves which show the monthly frequency of earthquakes. He finds that the observing stations can be divided into two groups, in one of which the maximum frequency is in winter and in the other in summer. The one group lies where the earthquakes have an inland origin and the other where they have a sub-oceanic origin. In seeking for an explanation of this remarkable fact, Dr. Omori draws attention to the fluctuations in the pressure of the atmosphere. The curves which have a winter maximum correspond with those which exhibit the changes in the barometer. From this it seems likely that an increase in the pressure of the atmosphere has a marked effect on the yielding of a land area. There is also a diurnal variation in seismic frequency which is probably due to corresponding variations in the pressure of the atmosphere.

SOME time ago M. and Mme. Curie discovered that when some specimens of bismuth were tested with the electroscope they were distinctly radioactive. They supposed this to be due to a radioactive constituent, called polonium, and made many attempts to isolate it. They did not succeed in this and at last came to the conclusion that such specimens formed a species of radioactive bismuth. Dr. W. Marckwald now announces that he has obtained the element they sought for. He first of all obtained some radioactive bismuth oxychloride. He then treated the acid solution of this with a stick of pure metallic bismuth and found it became coated with a black deposit. He found this deposit to be strongly radioactive while the residual solution lost its activity. As the quantity of polonium which he thus obtained was very small, he has not yet determined its atomic weight.

THE distribution of the stars in space has been investigated by Dr. Downing. Taking the positions of the stars as given in the Cape Photographic Durchmusterung, he reduced them to Galactic co-ordinates in order to determine their distribution with reference to the Galaxy. He finds that there is a ring of bright stars nearly in the Galactic plane and that the distribution of the others is such as to suggest that the visible universe has an ellipsoidal shape.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THOUGH the war in South Africa came to an end some months ago, it is the subject of the first three articles in the September number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*.

In the first of these entitled 'Some Blunders and a Scapegoat,' the Hon. John Fortescue criticises the Government for the ignorance and the inefficiency exhibited by it in connection with the late war, and endeavours to show that Sir Redvers Buller is only the latest of a long list of military scapegoats who have been branded with the sins of careless and inefficient Governments. As against the Government Mr. Fortescue may be admitted to have made out a very strong case, but all that he can say regarding the gravity of the situation which confronted Sir Redvers Buller when he landed at Cape Town does little to lessen the share of blame which rests on the shoulders of this unfortunate general. If any one is inclined still to believe that General Buller has received more blame than he deserves, let him read Baron von Malitzan's account of the operations on the Tugela, which forms the second of the three articles dealing with the war. Baron von Malitzan, who is a German by birth and was formerly an officer in the German army, professes to have no bias on either side and no desire to attack or defend any one. His only desire, he says, is to tell what he saw. If the facts concerning the operations on the Tugela are even approximately as Baron von Malitzan records them, they put the case for the British generals in a very unfavourable light indeed. Want of enterprise, want of knowledge, indecision, and blundering seem to have characterised all their attempts to relieve Ladysmith.

Mr. Edward Dicey writes a very sensible article on the reception which was accorded to the Boer generals by the British public. He holds that the enthusiasm with which the generals were received was altogether unjustified by the facts of the case. The British, as a nation, he says, are anxious to do justice, and more than justice, to the Boer leaders. But their cheers, their manifestations of good-will, their expressions of respect, ought by right to be reserved for those who fought for Britain, not wasted on the Boer leaders who fought against her and planned her downfall. Mr. Dicey regards it as a matter for regret that the British public, which displayed so much dignity during the period of disasters, which was never over-elated by successes, and which throughout three long and anxious years never wavered in its determination that the war must be fought out to the bitter end, be the cost what it might, should have tarnished its reputation for good sense and courage by an hysterical outburst of sentimentalism. He will find fewer people to disagree with him now than he would have done a month ago. Mr. Dicey's opinion regarding the cause that finally ended the war is worth noting. It was the block-house system, he says, that did it.

Mr. Percy F. Rowland contributes an interesting article on 'The Beginnings of an Australian National Character.' The Australian of to-day, he says, is an Englishman, Scot, or Irishman, but with a difference. In the first place his English, Scottish, or Irish characteristics have become weaker. In the second place, he has developed the hyper-sensitiveness which is a natural phase in the evolution of national character, and the tendency to magnify things Australian, though Mr. Rowland thinks that considering the rapid prosperity of Australia and her distance from other civilisations this tendency is less marked than one might expect. The Australian, too, he says, is wonderfully cosmopolitan in interest. As compared with the English character, there is in the character of the Australian a lack of subtlety, of reticence, and of reserve. In this matter, says Mr. Rowland, the child is father to the man. Whereas the normal English child is more or less shy, the Australian child is as innocent of shyness as is the sunny bush amid which he grows. The English child has his musings and cloud castles: the Australian child is essentially a child of action. The Australian, again,

is characterised by resourcefulness and determination. He is more good-humoured than his English cousin, but has much less humour. He is not naturally cruel, but life in the bush has rendered him somewhat callous to animal suffering. His love of horses, however, is proverbial, and his passion for horse-racing is strong, though not entirely due to pure love of equine prowess. The Australian is a born speculator, and the gambling instinct is strong in him. His consumption of alcohol is on a moderate scale, and he is on the whole religious. Of Australian women Mr. Rowland says that their most striking characteristics are their resourcefulness and cheerfulness, their adaptability, and their readiness to make the best of things. They are beginning, however, to combine with these qualities the refinement, the delicacy, and the disinterested love of goodness that are the glory of the highest types of women everywhere.

Mr. R. Fitzroy Bell writes on 'Education in Egypt.' When the English occupation of Egypt began, Mr. Bell says, the native educational arrangements were essentially what they had been for a thousand years. The upper classes had secondary schools, and the Greeks and other foreigners in Cairo and Alexandria were able to get a kind of commercial education, but the people of Egypt had only the Kuttab Schools and the El-Azhar, or University of Cairo, in which the teaching was not on Western lines. Now, however, Egypt has a complete modern system of education, including a well-equipped school of medicine, a polytechnic institution, and an agricultural college. This system is in the hands of the advisers of the Khedive, and in contrast with what obtains in this country the educational work carried on by missionaries in Egypt is outside the State system altogether. In another important matter the State system of education in Egypt differs from our system. In Egypt the Muhammadan religion is taught in all the State schools, while Christianity is simply ignored. In one point Egypt seems to resemble India. The desire to obtain Government employment is there as here one of the strongest motives with those who seek education. Most of the students in the Agricultural College are not Egyptians at all, for according to Mr. Bell, the Egyptian landowner prefers that his boy should be a salaried clerk rather than that he should increase the productivity of his country.

Bishop Welldon contributes the sermon which he preached to the Colonial troops at a special service held in Westminster Abbey. There is an article on the Education Bill by Mr. A. W. Gattie, and one on the development of the air-ship, by the Rev. John M. Bacon. Mr. E. A. Savage sketches the history of the Bodleian Library; and Sir Robert Hunter protests against the enclosure of Stonehenge. Mr. James Mew contributes a long article on the Persian poet Hafiz; and Sir Wemyss Reid, dealing with the events of August, describes the leading features of the Coronation.

COLLEGE NOTES.

We regret to state that Dr. Miller has suffered from fever for the past few weeks, and has in consequence been unable to give his usual assistance in the teaching of the College classes. As we go to Press he is free from fever but of course as the result of his long illness very weak.

The College Athletic Sports were held this year as usual on the College Athletic ground in the Beach. They were begun on Monday the 6th instant and went off very successfully, and the weather being particularly propitious were finished in three days.

The following is a list of the prize-winners :—

SENIOR DIVISION I,—(open to all).

1. 100 yards Flat Race ... J. S. Lazarus.
2. 120 yards Hurdle Race... J. S. Lazarus.
3. Quarter Mile Flat Race... B. Muthanna.
4. High Jump ... ... M. N. Srinivasa Chetti (5ft. 3½in.
5. Long Jump ... ... J. S. Lazarus (16ft. 11in.)
6. Putting the weight ... J. S. Lazarus (27ft. 8in.)
7. Tug of War ... ... The United Students' Homes' Foot Ball Club, Captain J. Nicholas.

SENIOR DIVISION II,—(open to students and pupils below 17 years of age on the 1st of January, 1903).

1. 100 yards Flat Race ... 1. Maang Po Ta.
   2. B. I. Karambiah.
2. Quarter Mile Flat Race... 1. Maang Po Ta.
   2. B. I. Karambiah.
3. One Mile Flat Race ... 1. L. P. Rajamanikkam.
   2. A. Kallappa.
4. High Jump ... P. Natarajaruthnum (4ft. 7½in.)
5. Long Jump ... 1. P. Natarajaruthnam (15ft. 9½in.
   Do. 2. B. I. Karambiah (15ft. 5in.
6. 100 yards Hurdle Race...Maang Po Ta.

JUNIOR DIVISION III,—(open only to pupils below 13 years of age on the 1st of September 1902).

1. 100 yards Flat Race ... 1. A. Mahomed Esuf.
   2. M. Abbas Miah.
2. Quarter Mile Flat Race... 1. M. Abbas Miah.
   Do. 2. A. Mahomed Esuf.
3. High Jump ... B. Bopiah (3ft. 10½in.
4. Long Jump ... M. Abbas Miah } equal (13ft. 11in.
   Do. ... S. Abdul Kadir }

JUNIOR DIVISION IV,—(open only to pupils below 10 years of age on the 1st of September 1902).

1. 100 yards Flat Race ... 1. M. V. Venkatramanjulu.
   Do. 2. S. Ramaswami.
2. One Furlong Flat Race... P. S. Jayaram.

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